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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

THE DEFECTION OF DOUGLAS.

From The South.

We are no longer allowed to entertain a doubt of Senator Douglas's determination to abandon the Democracy and enlist in the service of the Black Republican arty. In his speech of last Wednesday, he not only proached the President with the utterance of radical ad essential error in the Message, but distinctly declared imself a champion of Black Republican interests in the Kansas controversy. Of course this apostacy was greeted with the unaffected applause of the party to which he Senator from Illinois so suddenly transfers his allegiance. Seward and Hale bore the most conspicuous part in the ceremony of initiation, but all Pandemonium welcomed the lost spirit with an energetic grasp of friendship, while hallelujahs resound from every anti-slavery paper in the hireling States. In pledge of fidelity to his new confederates, the proselyte has already given notice of a bill to nullify the action of the Lecompton Convention, and to provide another organization of State government for Kansas, from which slavery will be excluded by positive enactment. Thus, by all the mysterious rites and solemn vows appropriate to the celebration of so signal an apostacy, Stephen A. Douglas renounces the faith of a Democracy and is received into the communion of the Black Republicans.

We cannot affect indifference at the treachery of Senator Douglas. He was a politician of considerable promise. *Association with Southern gentlemen had smoothed down the rugged vulgarities of his early education, and he had come to be quite a decent and well-behaved person.* In the beginning of his career he was identified with some of the obnoxious measures of the anti-slavery party, but the same salutary influence to which he owes the improvement in his manners wrought a wholesome change in his political opinions. At first an advocate of Wilmot provisos, he progressed to the point of avowed opposition to any restriction on the expansion of Southern institutions. In support of the Fugitive Slave law and the Kansas-Nebraska act he displayed a firmness and a fidelity which gave him the confidence of the State Rights Democracy. Altogether he ranked among the really hopeful statesmen of the country, and was regarded as a possible President by a large number of enterprising office-hunters.

It is always painful to contemplate the eclipse of a rising reputation and the sudden frustration of hopes which appear about to blossom into a brilliant reality. Judge Douglas was rapidly growing in the confidence of the Southern Democracy, and after a little more trial he might have been thought worthy of his high ambition. But his impatient desire would endure no farther postponement of gratification. Twice had his claims to the Presidency been set aside in Convention, and the prospect of a nomination by the Democratic party was more remote than ever. If by any chance he could place himself in the lead of the anti-slavery movement, and by an opportune reinforcement determine the struggle in favour of Black Republicanism, might he not reasonably demand the prize of victory? Would not Seward even consent to waive precedence in behalf of an ally who had rendered such signal service to the common cause? Would not Walker accept a subordinate position under so renowned a chief? Will not all the elements of anti-slavery in the North unite upon Douglas in order to accomplish the overthrow of the Democratic party, and so ensure the ultimate ascendancy of Black Republicanism? An impulse of resentment against the President for certain imaginary indignities came in aid of these suggestions of ambition, and confirmed Senator Douglas in the resolution to break with the Administration and desert the Democracy. He has taken the fatal step; he has passed the Rubicon, and must now be regarded as an enemy to the South and the party. We regret the defection, because it involves the sacrifice of a man of whom the country was beginning to expect some creditable effort of patriotism, and whom it was prepared to reward with a worthy mark of its confidence. But we are not at all concerned for the security of the South, inasmuch as we entertain no apprehension that its interests will suffer by the apostacy of Stephen A. Douglas. On the rary, the event will be of positive service, if it will teach the people of the South the folly of confiding orthern politicians and the necessity of a more exclureliance upon their own resources.

MORMONISM AND SLAVERY.

From The South.

E Mormon war is up, and likely to prove as expenas tedious, and more bloody than the war of the lades. There the civilized man, in full panoply, he naked savage. Here Greek meets Greek, armed teeth. Help me to inquire into the origin and of that war. The Mormons settled in Indiana inois. They were burned out and slain, and their Chief murdered. Well, but they violated the laws State. True, and deserved punishment; but could e Courts of the State vindicate the laws of the ? Was it necessary to turn loose on the culprits riate, frantic mob, to spread fire and sword indisately and without check?

Mormons quit the State and settled in the wilderhere it was thought no one would settle. They their country Deseret, and, in *contempt* of their , the Government called it Utah. Brigham Young ppointed Governor and ruled his people in peace. Government sent strangers to judge them, and the run them off. FOR WHAT? For interfering with ormon institutions; for trying to persuade the that they were degraded, suffering victims of n tyranny; for writing lying letters and slanderous n the Mormons and their institutions. For these ove them off, and they did right. They did what n should, what brave men should, what we will do—but what, I fear, will not do, when the succ of his Imperial and Royal Highness, James the all wield the destinies of twenty-six States and fourteen provinces.

Let the Mormons be crushed for their religion—for that is the real difficulty—and it may not be long before our negro masters, our traders in human chattels, our dealers in the flesh and blood of our brother man, may be crushed out to vindicate the glory of GOD and exalt the morality and religion of our masters.

My sympathies as a State Rights man are with the Mormons. I do not approve of their domestic institutions. No matter: it is their business, not mine; nor am I or any other person answerable for their sins or liable to suffer for their mistakes. As a Southern man, my sympathies are with the Mormons. The same measure that is dealt out to them for their polygamy would be dealt out to us for our slaveholding by the same people if they had the power, and God only knows (if things go on as they are tending) how long that power will be wanting; and I say shame! shame! on the Southern man or Southern press who does not sympathize with the Mormon attending to his own business and defending his rights, his firesides and his altars against the Yankee intermeddling oppressor who delights to interfere in his neighbour's affairs and would storm heaven or uproot hell rather than not have a fuss. Utah has set up for herself; she has a right to do so; and if Kansas is denied admission, as I expect (judging from the tone of the *National* Democratic press East and North-West) she will be, and the men of Kansas have the hearts of freemen in their bosoms, Kansas will set up for herself and find a Union, if she cannot join *the* Union. DIOGENES.

THE LEMMON CASE—A WRONG TO BE RIGHTED.—The judgment in the Lemmon case finally determines the fact that the property of gentlemen from the South is not secure for a single moment within the operation of the laws of New York. No matter about the intent. The master may not mean to sojourn for an instant on the soil of the State; he may be driven into it by stress of circumstances; but if his slave once comes within the grasp of a New York tipstaff, the confiscation of his property must propitiate the wrath of a virtuous community. There is no longer any such thing as protection under a common Constitution, or comity among confederated States. From the sublime elevation of her moral superiority New York looks down upon Virginia with horror and contempt. We are pirates and outlaws, whom the pious people of Gotham may despoil at pleasure. Shall we submit to this reproach? Shall we endure this wrong? Does the affront admit of no retaliation? Is the property of citizens of New York to be safe under the protection of our laws, after a solemn judgment by the highest judicial tribunal in New York that within its jurisdiction the property of citizens of Virginia may be confiscated by legal process? Can our Legislature devise no means for redress of the grievance and resentment of the wrong? We submit the subject to their consideration.—*Ibid.*

DISCUSSION ON SLAVERY IN CONGRESS.

From The Journal of Commerce.

We have ever counted it as among the greatest of evils that this subject should have occupied the position it has, and taken so much of the valuable time of Congress; for after all, slavery is a State institution, and must be managed by the people of the respective States. The time was when all things appeared to be working well for the friends of freedom, and for the slaves themselves. There was full and free discussion, for example, in the Legislature of Virginia. But the Abolitionists began to launch their thunderbolts, and all public discussion of the subject in the slaveholding States speedily ceased. In 1832, emancipation was discussed in the Virginia Legislature, and Mr. Broadnax, of Dinwiddie, spoke as follows: "The time has passed away in the history of the world when there can be any sealed subject in this country. The spirit of the age will not tolerate supression. The march of intellect on the earth—the increased spirit of inquiry and self-reflection—the flood of light from modern accessions to political and philosophical science which has poured in upon us, have imparted a tone of inquisitiveness to the public mind, and rendered it impatient of any subject being enveloped in the mantle of mystery." Thus could a Virginia legislator speak in 1832; but soon after that period, Garrison broke loose with his insanities, the cry was taken up, and echoed by all the inflammable demagogues; and ever since that time, the discussion of the subject in that body has ceased as by common consent. The emancipationists, who were about to assume high and triumphant ground, have constantly diminished, and perpetualism has rather been gaining the ascendancy. Once we heard, but now hear no more, such sentiments as the following, uttered by the same speaker: "That slavery in Virginia is an evil, and a transcendent evil, it would be idle and more than idle for any human being to doubt or deny. It is a mildew which has blighted in its course every region it has touched from the creation of the world. Illustrations from the history of other countries, and other times, might be instructive and profitable, had we the time to review them; but we have evidences tending to the same conviction nearer at hand, and accessible to daily observation, in the short histories of the different States in this great Confederacy, which are impressive in their admonitions, and conclusive in their character." But the fury of abolitionism has compelled the whole South to stop its ears against all such admonitions. Nor do the agitators treat it as a merely moral question. It has become fiercely political—and philanthropy itself, miserably hollow as it was, has been sacrificed on the altar of ambition. It matters not what becomes of the negroes, so that their mock friends can ride on this hobby into power.

Delaware, by her Legislature, came within one vote of abolishing slavery, when the clamour arose, and never has she touched the subject since; showing that the minority agreed with the majority on the rashness and the perils of Northern interference with this institution. We do not augur any progress, at present, toward the settlement of this question on a firm and satisfactory basis. Whatever the work, it will be slow, and probably a more decent generation of philo-Africans must arise, than that with which we are now contending. Meantime, all the evils created by the radicals will not prevent the real prosperity of the country, nor impair the successful working of the machinery of the government.

TRACT SOCIETY IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

[The South Carolina Baptist State Convention, at its last anniversary, raised a Committee to report on the new attitude, as it then seemed, of the American Tract Society on the subject of slavery. Of that Committee, the Rev. Dr. Manly (Baptist) was Chairman. The following is the concluding substance of his report, appended to which are two printed resolutions withdrawing support from the Society.]

It is in vain that the Secretaries of the Society appeal to the public and their brethren in the ministry, and those who control the religious press, to refrain from prejudging the future action of their brethren of the committee, while such a record is before us as that just given.

A people imbued with such feelings and views as they cherish and constantly express, if they have access to our people and especially to our slaves in any form, will inevitably diffuse abolition sentiments. If the colporter comes in, appointed by the North, paid by the North, abolition will come in with him, silently and imperceptibly at first, but surely. You can no more keep it out than you can keep a fog from your grounds by posting a notice at the gate warning off all noxious vapours.

Painful as it is to come to this conclusion, your committee are profoundly convinced that it is a matter of simple necessity and of self-preservation to the South to exercise a jealous scrutiny on this subject, even as against men in whom we thought we had a right to confide. We ourselves are not afraid of the conflict with abolition arguments; we know how to answer them. But shall we discuss these questions with our negroes? Shall we allow double-dyed Abolitionists to do it? We cannot admit them to circulate among us what we have ourselves approved; this would open a door at which they would presently enter with what *they* have approved and not we. We have no resource but to lay an absolute interdict on everything connected with the subject, as coming from that quarter. Even the modified cooperation proposed by the South Carolina Branch of the American Tract Society, in view of all the facts, comes short; it fails to express with sufficient decision and absoluteness that we are inaccessible to Northern people on that subject. We do not ask them to approve or apologize for slaveholding. They may surely be willing to say *nothing at all about it*; for, if there be any responsibility, duty or sin in respect to it, that responsibility, duty, or sin, is *not theirs*. If we approve of slaveholding, and think we can defend it to our satisfaction, that is exclusively our concern. We shall not disturb them with our arguments; nor shall we ask them to publish our approval or defence. Can they not agree to attend to their own constitutional business, and let our slaveholding alone? If not, then the case is plainly this: we cannot work with them, neither can we permit them to carry on their work in the sphere that we occupy, if we have any means to prevent it.

TEXAS AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

From The New Orleans Delta.

But Texas, with the sagacious boldness and shrewd precision which have heretofore marked her career, seems about to wheel into line with South Carolina on the question of the slave trade, as appears by a set of resolutions recently introduced into her Legislature by Mr. John Henry Brown, and referred to the appropriate committee. These resolutions present at some length and quite ably the general argument for the reopening of the African slave trade, and indicate forcibly the particular benefits which such a policy would confer upon Texas, as a State having an immense amount of unoccupied land and a proportionate deficiency of labourers.

What is true of Texas is true in the aggregate of the South. *The labour of the North, by emigration, has been increased probably at the rate of six per cent. per annum, while the agricultural labour of the South, depending upon native resources alone, has scarcely increased at the rate of three per cent.* Such is the effect of the "settled policy" of this Government of ours, as declared by Mr. Orr and the rest. Is it not possible to subvert that creation of cant, after the latter has been so signally vanquished in the arena of argument, and has been banished from the walks of true philosophy and genuine philanthropy? Most assuredly, with the gallant State of Texas on the one wing, and the brave, never-say-die old State of South Carolina on the other wing, the thing can be done if the centre does not cravenly refuse to keep step to the music of Southern glory and redemption when the hour calls for action. The united will of the South is the one thing needful. Will is present power. Will is the future conquest. It can stare rotten institutions, consecrated by ages, out of existence, and curdle with the lightning of its look the blood of nations. Give the *will*, then, and the way will come to it as a menial at the call of his master. In whom is such a will to find an organ? Who is the man ready and fit, "standing on the forehead of the time at hand," to express that will in words and deeds that shall be destiny? Who!

THE LYCEUM.—The opening lecture before the Lyceum, on Friday evening, was delivered by Edwin P. Whipple, Esq., of Boston. His subject was "Young Men in History." We listened to him for a few moments. After passing in review the young men of the French Revolution of 1794, the lecturer said, if he was called upon to name his *beau ideal* of all that is heroic in statesmanship, all that is elevated in patriotism, all that is graceful in oratory, all that is perfect in manhood, all that is noble in idea and sentiment—he should name ——whom do you suppose? Washington? Jefferson? Hamilton? Jackson? Clay? Webster? Benton? Everett?—none of these—but *Charles Sumner!* This brought down the Black Republican side of the house. The applause was a commentary on the propriety of the reference. Having more important business on hand, we denied ourselves the benefit of listening to the latter part of the discourse, fully satisfied that if this allusion was a fair specimen of his appreciation and criticism of character, the "young men" in other histories besides our own would stand a "right smart chance" of getting injustice done them. This Mr. Whipple evidently estimates character by a different rule from that usually applied—adopting the abolition standard as the test of merit. The lecture was generally regarded as a slim affair, and the lecturer himself as a "poor shoat." But we hope lyceum-goers will not be discouraged by this failure. Let them take heart from the adage, that "a poor beginning makes a good ending."—*The (Augusta, Me.) Age, Dec.* 10.

Selections.

GOV. WALKER'S LETTER OF RESIGNATION.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 15, 1857.

To the Hon. LEWIS CASS, Secretary of State.

SIR: I resign the office of Governor of the Territory of Kansas. I have been most reluctantly forced to this conclusion, after anxious and careful consideration of my duty to my country, to the people of Kansas, to the President of the United States, and to myself.

The grounds assumed by the President in his late Message to Congress, and in recent instructions in connection with the events now transpiring here and in Kansas, admonish me that, as Governor of that Territory, it will no longer be in my power to preserve the peace or promote the public welfare.

At the earnest solicitation of the President, after repeated refusals, the last being in writing, I finally accepted this office, upon his letter showing the dangers and difficulties of the Kansas question, and the necessity of my undertaking the task of adjustment. Under these circumstances, notwithstanding the great sacrifices to me, personal, political and pecuniary, I felt that I could no more refuse such a call from my country, through her Chief Magistrate, than a soldier in battle who is ordered to the command of a forlorn hope.

I accepted, however, on the express condition that I should advocate the submission of the Constitution to a vote of the people for ratification or rejection. These views were clearly understood by the President and all his Cabinet. They were distinctly set forth in my letter, on my acceptance of this office, of the 26th March last, and reiterated in my inaugural address of the 27th of May last, as follows: "Indeed, I cannot doubt that the Convention, after having framed a State Constitution, will submit it for ratification or rejection by a majority of the then actual bona fide resident settlers of Kansas."

With these views, well known to the President and the Cabinet, and approved by them, I accepted the appointment of Governor of Kansas. My instructions from the President, through the Secretary of State, under date 30th March last, sustain the regular Legislature of the Territory in assembling a Convention to form a Constitution, and they express the opinion of the President that "when such a Constitution shall be submitted to the people of the Territory, they must be protected in the exercise of their right of voting for or against that instrument, and the fair expression of the popular will must not be interrupted by fraud or violence. I repeat, then, as my clear conviction, that unless the Convention submit the Constitution to the vote of all the actual resident settlers of Kansas, and the election be fairly and justly conducted, the Constitution will be, and ought to be, rejected by Congress."

This inaugural most distinctly asserted that it was not a question of slavery merely, which I believed to be of little practical importance then in its application to Kansas, but of the entire Constitution which should be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection. These were my words on that subject in my inaugural: "It is not merely shall slavery exist in or disappear from Kansas, but shall the great principles of self-government and State sovereignty be maintained or subverted?"

In that inaugural I proceed further to say, the people "may, by a subsequent vote, defeat the ratification of the Constitution." I designate this "a great constitutional right," and add "that the Convention is the servant and not the master of the people." In my official despatch to you of the 2d June last, a copy of that inaugural address was transmitted to you for the further information of the President and his Cabinet. No exception was ever taken to any portion of that address. On the contrary, it was distinctly admitted by the President in his Message, with commendable frankness, that my instructions in favour of a submission of the Constitution to a vote of the people were "general and unqualified."

By that inaugural and a subsequent address, I was pledged to the people of Kansas to oppose, by all lawful means, the adoption of any Constitution which was not fairly and fully submitted to their vote for ratification or rejection. These pledges I cannot recall or violate without personal dishonour and the abandonment of fundamental principles; and, therefore, it is impossible for me to support what is called the Lecompton Constitution, because it is not submitted to a vote of the people for ratification or rejection.

[The Governor proceeds at some length to illustrate and enforce the principle that Sovereignty, the highest function of which is exercised in forming a State Government and State Constitution, is vested only in the People and "cannot be delegated to Conventions or other intermediate bodies." His argument on this point we omit.]

I have discussed the subject mainly on the question that Conventions are not sovereign, and cannot rightfully make a State Constitution without its submission to a vote of the people for ratification or rejection. Yet, surely, even those who differ with me on this point must concede, especially under the Kansas-Nebraska act, it is only such Conventions can be called sovereign as have been truly elected by the people, and represent them well. On reference, however, to my address of the 16th of Sept. last, on the day-qualification question, a copy of which was immediately transmitted to you for the information of the President and Cabinet, it is evident that the Lecompton Convention had vital, not technical, defects in the very substance of its organization under the Territorial law, which could only be cured, in my judgment, as set forth in my inaugural and other addresses, by submission of the Constitution for the ratification of the people. On reference to the Territorial law under which the Convention was assembled, thirty-four regularly organized counties were named as election districts for delegates to the Convention. In each and all of these counties it was required by law that a census be taken, also the voters registered, and, when this was completed, the delegates to the Convention should be apportioned accordingly. In nineteen of these counties there was no census, and therefore there could be no such apportionment there of delegates upon such census. And in fifteen of these counties there was no registry of votera. These fifteen counties, including many of the oldest organized Counties in the Territory, were entirely disfranchised, and did not give (by no fault of their own) and could not give a solitary vote for the delegates to the Convention. This result was superinduced by the fact that the Territorial Legislature appointed all the Sheriffs and Probate Judges in all these counties, to whom was assigned the duty by law of making this census and registry. These officers were political partisans, dissenting from the views and opinions of the people of these counties, as was proved by the election in October last. These officers, from want of funds, as they alleged, neglected or refused to take any census or make any registry in these counties, and therefore they were entirely disfranchised, and could not and did not give a single vote at the election for delegates to the Constitutional Convention. And here I wish to call attention to a distinction which will appear in my inaugural address in reference to those counties where the voters were fairly registered, and did not vote. In such counties where full and free opportunity was given to register and vote, and they did not choose to exercise such a privilege. The question is very different from these counties where there was no census or registry, and no vote was given, or could be given, however anxious the people might be to participate in the election of delegates to the Convention. Nor could it be said these counties acquiesced, for, wherever they endeavoured, by a subsequent census or registry of their own, to supply this defect, occasioned by previous neglect of the Territorial officers, the delegates thus chosen were rejected by the Convention.

I repeat that, in nineteen counties out of thirty-four, there was no census. In fifteen counties out of thirty-four there was no registry, and not a solitary vote was given, or could be given, for Delegates to the Convention in any one of these counties. Surely, then, it cannot be said that such a Convention, chosen by scarcely more than one tenth of the present voters of Kansas, represented the people of that Territory, and could rightly impose a Constitution upon them without their consent. These nineteen counties, in which there was no census, constituted a majority of the counties of the Territory, and these fifteen counties in which there was no registry gave a much larger vote at the October election, even with the six months' qualification, than the whole vote given to the Lecompton Constitution on the 17th of November last. If, then, sovereignty can be delegated, and the Convention as such are sovereign, which I deny, surely it must be only in such cases as when such Conventions are chosen by the people, which we have seen was not the case as regards the late Lecompton Convention. It was for this and other reasons that in my inaugural and other addresses I insisted that the Constitution should be submitted to the people by the Convention, as the only means of curing this vital defect in its organization. It was, therefore among other reasons that when, as you know, the organization called the "Topeka State Government" was made, and as a consequence an inevitable civil war and conflict must have ensued, these results were prevented by my assuring, not the Abolitionists, as has been erroneously stated (for my address was not to them, but to the people of Kansas), that, in my judgment, the Constitution would be submitted fairly and freely for ratification or rejection by their vote; and that if this was not done, I would unite with them (the people), as I now do, in lawful opposition to such procedure.

The power and responsibility being devolved exclusively upon me by the President of using the Federal army in Kansas to suppress insurrection, the alternative was distinctly presented to me, by questions propounded at Topeka, of arresting the revolution by the slaughter of the people, or of preventing it, together with that civil war, which must have extended throughout the Union, by a solemn assurance, then given, that the right of the people to frame their own government, so far as my power extended, should be maintained. But for this assurance, it is a conceded fact that the Topeka State Government, then assembled in legislative session, would have been put into immediate actual operation, and that a sanguinary collision with the Federal army and civil war must have ensued—extending, it is feared, throughout the Union.

Indeed, the whole idea of an inaugural address orignated in the alarming intelligence which had reached Washington City of perilous and incipient rebellion in Kansas. This insurrection was rendered still more formidable on my reaching the Territory by the near approach of the assembling of the revolutionary State Legislature, and the very numerous mass Conventions by which it was sustained. In truth, I had to choose between arresting that insurrection, at whatever cost of American blood, by the Federal army, or to prevent the terrible catastrophe, as I did, by my pledges to the people of the exertion of all my power to obtain a fair election and the submission of the Constitution to the vote of the people for ratification or rejection.

My inaugural and other addresses were, therefore, really in the nature of proclamations, so often issued by Presidents and Governors, with a view to prevent, as they did in this case, civil war and insurrection. Now, by my oath of office I was sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, which I have shown, in my judgment, required the submission of the Constitution to the vote of the people. I was sworn, also, to take care that the Kansas and Nebraska bill should be faithfully executed, which bill, in my judgment, as heretofore stated, required that the Constitution should be submitted to the vote of the people, and I was therefore only performing a solemn duty when, as Governor of the Territory to whose people my first obligations were due, I endeavoured to secure them these results. The idea entertained by some that I should see the Federal Constitution and the Kansas-Nebraska bill overthrown and disregarded, and that playing the part of a mute in a pantomime of ruin I should acquiesce by my silence in such a result, especially where such acquiescence involved as an immediate consequence a disastrous and sanguinary civil war, seems to me most preposterous.

Not a drop of blood has been shed by the Federal troops in Kansas during my Administration, but insurrection and civil war, extending, I fear, throughout the country, were alone prevented by the course pursued by me on those occasions, and the whole people, abandoning revolutionary violence, were induced by me to go, for the first time, into a general and peaceful election. These important results constitute a sufficient consolation for all the unjust assaults made upon me on this subject. I do not understand that these assaults have ever received the slightest countenance from the President. On the contrary, his message clearly indicates an approval of my course up to the present most unfortunate difference about the so-called Lecompton Constitution. Inasmuch, however, as this difference is upon a vital question involving practical results and new instructions, it is certainly much more respectful to the President, on my part, to resign the office of Governor, and give him an opportunity of filling it, as is his right under the Constitution, with one who concurs with him in his present opinions rather than go to Kansas and force him to remove me by disobedience to his instructions. This latter course, in my judgment, would be incompatible with a proper respect for the Chief Magistrate of the Union, inconsistent with the rules of moral rectitude or propriety, and could be adopted with no other view than to force the President to remove me from office. Such a course, it is alleged, would present me to the public as a great political martyr in the defence of the great principle of self-government; but to go to Kansas with any such purpose, or with a certain knowledge that such a result must follow, would be alike unjust and improper. My only alternative, then, is that of a respectful resignation, in the hope that Kansas and our beloved country may be shielded from that civil war with which, I fear, both are threatened, by any attempt to force the so-called Lecompton Constitution upon the people of Kansas. I state it as a fact, based on a long and intimate association with the people of Kansas, that an overwhelming majority of that people are opposed to that instrument, and my letters state that but one out of twenty of the press of Kansas sustain it. * * * * Indeed, disguise it as we may to ourselves, under the influence of the present excitement, the facts will demonstrate that any attempt by Congress to force this Constitution upon the people of Kansas will be an effort to substitute the will of a small minority for that of an overwhelming majority of the people of Kansas; that it will not settle the Kansas question, or localize the issue; that it will, I fear, be attended by civil war, extending, perhaps, throughout the Union, thus bringing this question back again upon Congress and before the people to its most dangerous and alarming aspect. The President takes a different view of the subject in his Message; and from the events occurring in Kansas as well as here, it is evident that the question is passing from theories into practice, and that, as Governor of Kansas, I should be compelled to carry out new instructions differing on a vital question from those received at the date of my appointment. Such instructions I could not execute consistently with my views of the Federal Constitution and of the Kansas and Nebraska bill, or with my pledges to the people of Kansas. Under these circumstances, no alternative is left but to resign the office of Governor of the Territory of Kansas. No one can more deeply regret than myself the necessity, but it arises from no change of opinion on my part. On the contrary, I should most cheerfully have returned to Kansas to carry out my original instructions, and thus preserve the peace of the Territory, and finally settle the Kansas question by redeeming my pledges to the people. It is not my intention at this time, to discuss the peculiar circumstances and unexpected events which have modified the opinions of the President upon a point so vital as the submission of the Constitution for ratification or rejection by the vote of the people—much less do I desire any controversy with the President on this subject. Yet, however widely my views may differ from those entertained by him on this question—views which I have held all my life, and which, as involving fundamental principles of public liberty and of the Constitution are unchangeable—yet, as regards all those great measures which I trust will constitute the policy of his Administration in other respects, it will give me pleasure, as a private citizen, to yield my cordial support. * * * * *

Most respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. J. WALKER.

LETTER FROM MR. HELPER.

From The Northern Independent.

NEW YORK, Nov. 19, 1857.

REV. H. MATTISON—*My Dear Sir:* Since you honoured me with a call, some weeks ago, in Wall street, I have been to Baltimore and Washington City, and have thus proven how gratuitous were the assertions of certain pro-slavery demagogues, who said I would never dare to show myself again on the south side of Mason and Dixon's line. I learn, however, from letters recently received from my brothers, and others in Carolina, that it would be very unsafe for me to return home—that I would certainly be mobbed, perhaps killed, almost immediately after my arrival at the depot, and all this, because, acting upon what I believed to be my privilege and my duty, I have written an anti-slavery book! I have thus been made to know the penalty of allowing my opinions to run counter to the teachings of the oligarchy, and thus you see that that clause of the Constitution which guarantees to us all the freedom of speech, is in the South, a dead letter.

Your friend, T. Jones, Esq., called in our office, a few days ago, and gave our President such a flattering account of the criticism which you were pleased to make in favour of my book that I could not resist the inclination to present him a copy, which he accepted, and which I trust may be of some avail in winning him from the errors of sham Democracy, of which, at present, he seems to be an enthusiastic adherent.

You are doubtless watching, with much interest, the progress of events in Kansas—that vast and fertile Territory, which the myrmidons of slavery, in their presumptuous and unprecedented villany, are trying so hard to bring under the blighting influence of the "peculiar institution." It is time, I think, for the free, patriotic people this country to rise in their might, and put an end to the outrageous frauds and usurpations which, with such hideous effrontery, have been so long practised by the self-constituted legislators of Kansas. The Territory, like all territory, in fact, naturally belongs to freedom, and, under all the circumstances, a large majority of the actual settlers being in favour of freedom, we ought not, by any means, to allow it to be smuggled into the Union with a Constitution recognising slavery.

Yours most respectfully, H. R. HELPER.

PROFESSOR ALLEN'S LECTURE.

DUBLIN, November 11, 1857.

To the Editor of The (London) Anti-Slavery Advocate.

DEAR SIR: As I have been since its commencement a reader of your paper, I naturally feel an interest in its success. I have no particular fault to find with your selections, but would it not give more life to your columns if they were better furnished with original matter? You may perhaps say that nothing of your own is likely to equal extracts from the American anti-slavery newspapers, whose circulation is unfortunately so limited on this side of the Atlantic that I have been informed the *Advocate* was mainly established as a channel for placing their facts and arguments before the British public. Still I am of opinion that it would be well if you could contrive to obtain a greater proportion of original matter than has latterly appeared in your columns.

It has occurred to me that you may find room in your next number for a notice of an anti-slavery lecture that was delivered in this city two or three days ago. You are doubtless familiar with the name of Professor Allen, formerly of Macgrawville College in the State of New York, who, being a man of colour, was obliged to fly from his native country some years ago, because he had offended the public opinion of the United States by marrying a white young woman, who was not only young and white, but a lady every inch in manners, morals and education. As the poor young couple had to fly, where should they fly to but to England? and so to England they went. After a time spent in London, Liverpool, and Belfast, they came to Dublin, and have lived here for some years, during which, to my own knowledge, Mr. Allen has evinced remarkable courage, perseverance, endurance and energy in his efforts to support his family, under the combined disadvantages of narrow circumstances and the difficult struggle which must be endured when competition is intense and the field of labour already occupied. He has given lessons in elocution and other branches, but his chief card has been the delivery of his lectures on the history and prospects of the African race, which he has given, with great acceptance, in many of the towns of Ireland, always under highly respectable auspices; but most frequently those of clergymen of the established church, whose patronage and presence as chairmen of his meetings have generally secured him an excellent and remunerative attendance. Circumstances having induced him to look to Liverpool as his future residence, Mr. Allen delivered the particular lecture which it is my object to notice. It was given in one of the rooms of the Rotundo—our principal and most fashionable public building for such purposes. The audience was respectable, the subject the Present Position of Affairs in the United States, chiefly with reference to the institution (as it is facetiously called) of chattel slavery. In what way the Professor connected the present crisis with slavery I did not hear, for I was not able to be present until after the lecture had commenced. However, his historic sketch of the aggressions of the Slave Power, and the deepening gloom of that moral darkness which now overshadows the United States was given with much force, feeling, and fidelity. He described the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, the frequency of legalized slave hunts throughout the Free States, the return of Anthony Burns into slavery by the dishonoured descendants of the very men who, in the infancy of the American revolution, threw the tea into Boston harbour rather than submit to a tax of 3d per pound unconstitutionally imposed. He denounced with just severity the latest and most hideous result of that pro-slavery spirit which rules the United States—I mean that horrible decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, which, from the name of the negro in reference to whose cause it was pronounced, is called the Dred Scott decision, and which is summed up in the wicked dictum that the coloured race have no rights which the white race are bound by the Constitution to respect. The lecturer then proceeded to sketch the efforts that had been made by the Abolitionists to stem the tide of national depravity on the slavery question. He described the apathy which attended the efforts of the old anti-slavery societies which aimed at the palliation of the slave system, and contrasted it vividly with the excitement produced by the appearance of Mr. Garrison on the theatre of public events, when he promulgated his famous dogma that slavery is A SIN, and its immediate abolition A DUTY. He paid a handsome tribute to the nobility of character of this gentleman, and to the pre-eminent position which he has ever continued to hold in the van of the anti-slavery movement. He also spoke in glowing terms of the splendid eloquence and valuable services of Wendell Phillips, and the high moral ground taken by the American Anti-Slavery Society, which builds its hopes of success upon the employment of moral and intellectual means alone, hoping nothing from political cliques or ecclesiastical bodies, until their members have been imbued with that deep-seated abhorrence of slavery that would result from a genuine love of liberty, and a willing obedience to the teachings of pure Christianity.

Next in rank amongst the anti-slavery instrumentalities of the day he placed the Radical Abolition Society. The basis of its efforts is the doctrine that the Constitution of the United States is an anti-slavery document, when rightly interpreted; and that it only needs the Supreme Court of the United States to be imbued with this sentiment, in order to sweep away the whole system of slavery by declaring it unconstitutional and illegal—its express clauses for the restoration of fugitives from service and labour, and for a three-fifths representation of slaves (in forming a numerical basis for the return of members to Congress from the Slave States) to the contrary notwithstanding. He paid a high and deserved compliment to the private virtues and extraordinary munificence of Mr. Gerrit Smith, the most eminent member of this section of Abolitionists; but reprehended his want of stability as an Abolitionist, in having lately given the sanction of his support and presence to Mr. Elihu Burritt's absurd rose-water scheme for abolishing slavery, by buying up the slaves at a reduced price from their masters, and in so far acknowledging the legal, constitutional and moral right of their owners to hold them. Mr. Frederick Douglass was also named as an eminent member of this party. He was called "celebrated" and "devoted"—but Mr. Allen forgot to mention that during the last Presidential election, when Mr. Douglass saw no chance of the elevation of his patron, Mr. Gerrit Smith, to the presidency, he openly threw the Radical Abolitionists overboard, and in his own newspaper raised the political standard in favour of the Republican party, who disclaim all desire to interfere with slavery in the Slave States, and do no more than protest against the extension of slavery. These "Republicans" the lecturer described as the third and last party which can in any sense be described as an organized anti-slavery instrumentality in the United States. There is, first, the American Anti-Slavery Society, a small body in proportion to the population of the Free States, which uses only moral means, and aims to enlighten the public mind by the statement of facts, and appeals to the religious and moral convictions and professions of the people. Second, the Radical Abolitionists, a still smaller class, which relies chiefly upon a fanciful interpretation of the United States Constitution, which nobody acts upon or holds to but themselves. Third, the great "Republican" political party, which embraces nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand politicians in the Free States who make any anti-slavery profession. As far as I could judge, the lecturer's sympathies were chiefly with the measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society, but he said that the greater number of his personal friends were among the Radical Abolitionists. He told us that of the 40,000 clergy of all denominations in the United States, at least 39,000 were, either openly or by the silence which gives consent, supporters of the slave system; and that so long as this is so, all hope for its overthrow must rest chiefly upon that comparatively small body whose efforts are steadily and uncompromisingly directed to enforce its utter antagonism to Christianity, morality, sound policy, and well-based national prosperity. He appeared to me to look more than was reasonable to the slaves themselves for their own deliverance, and to think that people who deserve to be free will accomplish their own freedom. This I regard as a popular English fallacy, popular because it gratifies the self-love of a nation which happens to be blessed with fortunate circumstances for the assertion and maintainance of free institutions. For us to call upon a prostrate nation or the American slave to assert their own rights, is no wiser than it would be for a man with unshackled limbs to tell a bound and manacled captive to get up and run away. Mr. Allen wished that there was a greater number of the slaves like that noble fellow who, during the late insurrections in the South, allowed himself to be whipped to death rather than betray his confederates. He said if there were 100 such men, the system could not possibly continue. Probably not; but instances of such heroism are rare in any country, and least of all must we look for them amongst a people subjected to the darkening, debasing discipline of slavery. All people are intellectually degraded and demoralized by oppression, and *therefore* slavery is unjustifiable, even though all the slaves were as contented as well-fed swine, as fat as prize-bullocks, and as happy as flies on a summer day.

The lecturer having sat down, the chairman stood up; but I have not until now mentioned the chairman. He was the venerable and estimable Dr. Urwick, a Congregational minister, highly respected in this city as an able divine, an eloquent preacher and platform orator. His remarks on Mr. Allen's address were strictly professional. After complimenting the industry with which it had been prepared, he said that it was probable all present would not agree to all the speaker's conclusions respecting the anti-slavery instrumentalities in the United States. He said that as Christians we must all hold that nothing but Bible truth could abolish American slavery, and that unless the Abolitionists relied upon its efficacy, their efforts could not be crowned with success; that infidelity could never accomplish such a work. If a Roman Catholic priest had occupied Dr. Urwick's chair that evening, he would have declared that the Church alone could abolish slavery, and that unless through her and by her all human efforts would prove in vain. The doctor mentioned in highly laudatory terms the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and the Rev. Dr. Cheever, both of the same religious communion as himself, as instances of the right kind of anti-slavery workmen. I wished there were more like them; but I remembered that it is only within the last year or so that Dr. Cheever has come forward as an Abolitionist; and that the Rev. H. W. Beecher, during the late Presidential election, declared that if the South would consent to cease from their aggressions upon free soil, he would not interfere with their constitutional rights. I could not avoid contrasting the course of these men with that of the *infidels* to whom the doctor alluded—I mean some prominent members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, who are no more infidels than he is, except that they differ from him on some points of Bible interpretation.

wasn't doing right. Let us suppose that one of the attorneys who gave his valuable knowledge to aid a master from Kentucky to reclaim a fugitive in this city recently had to change places with the slave. Suppose he "belonged" to some "highly accomplished and hospitable" black Vallandingham, who, being occasionally in need of a lawyer's services, had concluded to buy one and save fees; and his agent had selected our friend, after a thorough survey of the market. His new condition don't please him. If he goes off to a "hoe down" at night, and his written opinion is not ready next morning when it is wanted, he is "tucked up" and "licked within an inch of his life." If he files a "demurrer" and his point is not well taken, he is licked again. If the Judge should happen to own "on the sly" half of an opposing lawyer practising in the same Court, and should naturally lean little in favor of his own property, why, our friend has suffer again. If he pleads "double," he is licked; if he "demurred" out of Court, he is licked; if he lets a plea abatement upset his case, he is licked; if he can't find "authority," he is licked; if he does find it and the court won't regard it, he is licked; if the jury is intractable, he is licked. His "professional experience," in short, under the new arrangement, becomes a calendar of floggings. His back is equal to an English Judge's memorandum book of rulings. Every "point" is scored there. We can easily imagine with what feelings he would cite he Dred Scott case, and argue for the constitutionality f slavery wherever the Constitution extended. Under he threat of a thrashing if it wasn't well done, we can fancy how he would insist on the legality of the Fugitive Slave Act, and taunt the "traitors" who denounced it. But, as we said, his condition is not so pleasant as he could wish. He feels like his brother slave, who is not so fair-skinned, and who cuts hemp, and tends the turkles while they eat tobacco worms, that it would be pleasanter to belong to himself, to own his own legs and brains and command his own time. So he swims the Ohio some night and comes back here. He falls into his former habits and associations, and in about three years forgets that he is cheating his owner shamefully. He gets his county to boiling again. He procures his own conventions, nominates his own candidates, starts his own paper, coaxes the Governor to roll up his breeches and "wade in" for him, resovers all his Democracy, and blows away as vigorously as ever. Some day, while defending the right of slavery to go wherever it will, and an adoring crowd of Handoodlians surround the stump on which their idol is set up, the U. S. Marshal takes him by the leg, jerks him off in the midst of an eulogy on "Dred Scott," and, fastening a manacle thereto, hands him over to his owner, who, being of course a red-hot Democrat, stops while passing through Greenfield on a journey, to glorify with his brethren of the faith, and finds "his man Tom" the orator of the day. He is brought to this city, and some benevolent souls, unwilling to see him taken into slavery without a full legal right being exhibited, have him taken with a habeas corpus. We can't very well suppose that he would feel an ardent affection for a brother attorney who should consent, for ten dollars, to see that the law was properly twisted around his runaway legs, and his body fairly shipped off to Kentucky to practise law under the cowhide again. He would probably think that between a blood-hound who tracked him down and a lawyer who tied him with writs instead of ropes there was nothing to choose. And he would feel just about as *men* feel everywhere, whether free or slave. A human heart has some allowance for the owner who has been educated to feel that his slave is the same as his cart or cow. It can even find an alleviation (but we can't) in the case of the officer, who must choose between executing a cruel law and his office. But there is no mercy in it for the lawyer who hunts blood for money, who puts life and liberty, and home, and the bitter anguish of the soul which, till it goes to God, must be the instrument of an *owner's* pleasure, against a fee, and digs with merciless ingenuity right amongst nerves, and flesh, and marrow for his money He can urge no palliation of education, official duty or social necessity. It is for money that he helps to hold a fugitive while a master chains him. It is for money he tasks his ingenuity to destroy the liberty of a man in whose place he would shoot the lawyer like a dog. He does that for a few which, if any man were to do to him, a lifetime of vengeance would be no compensation. It is no answer to say that "the owner must have his rights protected." The law is *all* for the owner. His rights are trebly guarded. The slave, ignorant, terrified and tortured, alone is left helpless by the law. If there were no appeal to humanity in the fate of the recovered fugitive, there ought to be in the fact that he, the most needy of protection of all living beings, has least, has none. If friends come to his aid, and require every form of law to be observed, and every shadow of right to be made substantial, it is *their* act and not the allowance of the law. So would our friend think if he should change places with the negro he has helped to send back to slavery.

WASHINGTON NEWS AND GOSSIP.

From The Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Dec. 17, 1857.

THERE was much opposition to the confirmation of the Hon. Nathan Clifford as Judge of the Supreme Court in place of the Hon. B. R. Curtis. Mr. Hale of New Hampshire made a strong speech in opposition, in which he affirmed that Mr. Clifford did not stand in the first rank of the lawyers of his State, District or County. Mr. Bayard said the best that could be said on behalf of Mr. Clifford. The matter was laid over.

Capt. Chatard, of the Saratoga, whose conduct is condemned in allowing Gen. Walker's entrance into Nicaragua, is regarded as one of the best officers in the service, and is thought entitled to a suspension of opinion till the facts appear in an official form.

FRIDAY, Dec. 18, 1857.

The declaration so emphatically made by Senator Douglas, in his reply to Senator Green, that the scheme of forcing the Lecompton Constitution on the people of Kansas is a scheme of disunion and civil war, is significant enough, even in the sense in which it is commonly understood, namely, that the scheme, if carried out, will lead to bloodshed and to civil war as a natural and hardly to be averted consequence. But the Senator had a deeper meaning in the remark. The conviction prevails among the Northern members who are most competent to form a judgment of the true state of the case that the Lecompton Constitution is not pressed as a mere parliamentary or partisan measure by the Southern gentlemen who devised it, and who are now controlling and directing it openly or secretly. The President undoubtedly so regards it. He looks upon it simply as a Congressional question, which may be put through Congress with more or less difficulty, but to which, when passed, Kansas and the North will submit, or to which they will offer no other resistance than speeches and votes.

The President is deceived, and is unwittingly lending himself to the purposes of men who are playing a deep and dangerous game. The Southern authors of this Lecompton scheme care nothing for Kansas, which they know is lost to them. They are aiming at a dissolution of the Union and the formation of a pure Slaveholding Republic. They expect, through civil war, to drive the Free States out of the Confederacy, with the exception of Pennsylvania, and perhaps New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois, which will be graciously permitted to remain, if they wish to, and will make respectful application for permission to stay, giving satisfactory assurances of good behaviour in the future. Any free State, in fact, which will humble itself to make application for admission into the new Union will be welcomed, with the clear understanding that the Federal Constitution is to be so interpreted as to extend slavery theoretically, if not practically, over the whole Confederacy.

The South does not object to a few free States in the Union. If she could have a constant majority in the Federal councils, she would not care how strong the free State minority might be. There are reasons of State and of party which make it politic and convenient to have a certain amount of conflicting elements in a confederacy, just as in a legislative body it is desirable not to have too great a majority. Sectional and party discipline can be better maintained in the face of an opposition than when there is no counteracting force whatever. The leaders of the slaveholding aristocracy are determined to keep possession of this Government, with its multitudinous offices and profuse revenues. If the Union remains as it is, they see clearly that in 1860 the sceptre will depart from them into the hands of the Republican party. That catastrophe they are resolved to avert, even by force of arms if need be. To this end, and with this view, they are pressing the Lecompton scheme upon the President. They expect and hope that its enforcement in Kansas will be resisted, and that a civil war will be the result. They expect through such a war to divide and conquer the free States, and to drive the most obnoxious of them out of the Union. With the rest, or at the worst with the South alone, they calculate upon forming a confederacy in which the slaveholding class shall have the unquestioned supremacy, with nothing to check the expansion of its dominion over Mexico, Central America and the West Indies.

Mr. Douglas, from his long and intimate association with these men, perfectly understands their plans and motives, and this explains the emphatic hint he threw out in his recent speech, that the Lecompton scheme was a scheme of disunion. Mr. Buchanan has been so long abroad that he comprehends neither the designs of the slaveholders nor the state of public opinion in the free States. He underrates the difficulty and danger of the Kansas question, and thinks it will end, as all other controversies ended, in the partisan conflicts of the past, with which he was familiar before he went to Europe. He is desirous of a reelection, and clings to the obsolete idea that the only road to the Presidency lies through the slave States. The Southern advisers who surround him, and who alone have his ear, know better. They are perfectly aware that their exclusive power over the Union, as at present constituted, is gone forever, and that nothing can restore it but some new arrangement which shall exclude the Anti-Slavery States. They look to the Lecompton scheme as the basis on which to begin the movements that are to result, they hope, in a new conformation of the country by which they can regain and secure that supremacy, the loss of which they anticipate in 1860, unless they can avert it by a *coup d'état*.

SATURDAY, Dec. 19, 1857.

Every effort will be made to carry the nomination of Nathan Clifford by party drill. He was appointed solely because of his personal relations to the President, and those relations will be made a means of intimidating the weak or conciliating the doubtful. The developments against him were sufficiently imposing on Thursday to stagger Mr. Bayard, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, who asked time to investigate, and to make others hesitate, who yet believe that the dignity of the Supreme Court is worth preserving. When the fitness of a nomination for such a place, which ought to be universally conceded to start with, can be canvassed at all, it is easy to understand what weight its recipient will carry to the bench, even if forced there by the votes of a political majority. A jealous rival of the Duchess of Marlborough said, "Queen Anne might make Sarah Churchill a Duchess, but she never could make her a gentlewoman." So Mr. Buchanan may make Clifford a Judge, but he cannot make him a lawyer.

From The Times.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Dec. 15, 1857.

A strong combination of politicians has been recently organised in New-York, to make DANIEL S. DICKINSON the candidate of the Democratic Party for the Presidency in 1860—FERNANDO WOOD United States Senator from this State; and AUGUSTUS SCHELL Governor. The heads of the combination are D. S. Dickinson, in Binghamton; Fernando Wood and Collector Schell, in New-York City. The prominent subordinates in the movement are Gideon J. Tucker, Secretary of State elect; Henry W. Rogers, of Buffalo, (related in some way to Dickinson), Frederick Follett, formerly Canal Commissioner, and prominently connected with the "Know-Nothings"; John C. Mather, who was impeached while Canal Commissioner, but who has recently turned up a State Senator, under the favoring auspices of Collector Schell; Stephen D. Dillaye, formerly of Syracuse, and Richard Schell, the brother of the Collector. Tucker as Secretary of State, and Mather and Schell as State Senators at Albany, are expected to manage the Democratic country members of the next Legislature, and *they*, the Democrats in the rural districts induce them to believe that Dickinson is *the* man for "Old Buck's" successor—that Wood is sufficiently *honest* to occupy the seat of Gov. Seward; and that the loquacious Schell "is a monstrous proper man," to succeed Gov. King.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 16.

Wm. B. Rankin, President of the Pennsylvania Keystone Club, well-known in his State as the "Hero of the Williamsport Convention," having got up a meeting of his Club, and passed resolutions reading Douglas, Wise and a host of other Democrats out of the party, has come on post haste with the resolutions in one hand, and his application for office in the other.

SATURDAY, Dec. 19, 1857.

The resolution adopted in Senate, yesterday, upon the motion of Mr. Pugh, of Ohio, has significance. It calls for all the official proceedings in Kansas in connection with the late elections, the census and registration of voters, the Constitutional Convention, &c., &c. The Senator from Ohio, of course, is familiar with the facts, and would hardly call for them in official form, knowing the unfavourable exhibit they must present, if he was at heart in favour of sustaining the Lecompton swindle. The desperate efforts making by semi-official journals to create the impression that the Lecompton Constitution is to be carried swimmingly through both Houses, and that Mr. Douglas and others are beginning to regret their opposition to the scheme, constitute a game of brag which may amuse the players, but cannot win. The gentlemen who refuse to dance the "Popular Sovereignty" shuffle, led off by the Administration, are fully prepared to face the music, confident that justice and right, supported with energy and *will*, must achieve ultimate triumph.

SUNDAY, Dec. 20, 1857.

There is a lull in the Kansas excitement here, and everybody is looking with exceeding anxiety to the election to-morrow, upon which momentous events hang—perhaps the question of a civil war, disastrous to the peace of the whole country. It is taken for granted that the Legislature of Kansas has passed the necessary act, providing for a fair vote by the people upon the adoption or rejection of the Constitution made by the Lecompton Convention. If so, nobody doubts that an overwhelming vote will be cast against it. Nevertheless, the Calhoun aty of nullifiers will send their bantling along, trusting still to the technicality under the cover of which their swindle has been pushed on step by step, and, ignoring all votes cast elsewhere than under the provisions of the Convention, will insist upon having Kansas admitted into the Union with the Constitution indorsed by the minority and repudiated by the best majority of the people.

What will the President do in such a juncture as this? The question is important. My impressions are that he will go on as he has begun, determined to finish the effort to bring Kansas at once into the Union, if it be possible. The Indications are, so far as they can be gathered, that he also will ignore the vote cast under the new Territorial Legislature, claim that the Convention had all power to bind the people to their action, and that, consequently, any vote upon the Constitution other than the one presented by that body is irregular and extra-legal. If the President takes this step, succeeds in sustaining it, forces the Lecompton Constitution through Congress, and attempts to establish a State Government under it, we have here abundant evidence that civil war must follow. I have conversed with at least twenty representative men from Kansas—men of all parties and various shades of political views. Their opinion is unanimous that the people will never submit to this last act of Federal interference, let resistance cost what it may. Mr. Buchanan knows this full well, and it remains to be seen whether he will brave it all rather than retire from the unfortunate error to which he has committed his Administration.

From The Missouri Democrat.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10, 1857.

The moral effect of Douglas's demonstration is plainly appreciable in political circles. The talisman of the National Democratic party is broken; the spell wand which never failed to rally that great host and keep it united is disenchanted and reduced to a vulgar noun substantive, and ere long its late association will render it an offence in the ears of all honest men. The most devoted partisans of the Democratic party do not know which of the two, Buchanan or Douglas, is the heresiarch. The prestige and personal qualities of the Senator counterbalance the official authority of the President. Indifferentism and disorganization pervade the ranks of the Democrats from the free States. Party fealty sits light upon them. Membership and fraternity in the party has ceased to be a yoke to bow their necks, and the title of National Democrat is a despised and meaningless distinction. The secession of Douglas is not like that of Abdiel from the rebel ranks of Satan, who went solitary and alone. He carries with him one-third of the Democratic Congressmen from the free States, the leading Democratic journals of the free States, and the mass of the rank and file. Nor is he without sympathy and support in the border slave States. He has given the *coup de grace*—the finishing blow—to the National Democratic party. It is no longer a unit, no longer a national organisation, much less a prætorian guard to make Presidents at pleasure. It is now a slavery party geographically as well as politically, incapable of putting forth another plausible delusion, although its faculty of invention is marvellous. The dividing line which ran north of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, of Indiana and Illinois, at the last general election, runs south of Mason and Dixon's line; and the next Presidential contest will not lie fortified in front by a tier of free States and a section of the North, but between a section of the South and the entire North, including California, aided by the friendly neutrality or the active alliance of the border slave States. The united North and the divided South will be the parties to the next contest.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12, 1857.

I have informed you that he (Douglas) will carry with him five or six Democratic Senators, and, though the Administration press teems with statements to the contrary, I have every reason to rely on the correctness of my information. He will also carry with him the five Democratic Representatives from Illinois, including Samuel S. Marshall, whose well-known proclivities gave the Southern members high expectations of his continued adhesion to them; and in addition, most of the Democratic Representatives from Ohio, Indiana, Connecticut and California. The Democratic Representatives from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, will probably support the President, for there are many valuable appointments yet to be made, and Pennsylvania and New York politicians are liberal of their votes when the public almoner is liberal of his gifts. Jewett, of Kentucky, will also go with Douglas, but I know of no Southern Representative who has the intrepidity to follow his example. With such a formidable following in both Houses, and with the Republican host in the rear, ready to receive him at any moment, it is not surprising that Douglas is implacable and aggressive—that the Administration hesitates to proscribe him, or to make the Lecompton Constitution a test of orthodoxy.

From The Philadelphia Press.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15, 1857.

It is generally believed that the Administration have sent to Kansas agents instructed to make every effort to have the slavery clause stricken from the Lecompton Constitution. This measure has given offence to the Southern members of Congress, and there are at present symptoms of defection on their part from the Kansas policy of the Administration, as it is understood in the present phase of Kansas affairs. They allege that the Administration in this violate the principle for which they contend. Every day, it seems, only developes new complications in this matter.

A Democratic Senator in the State Legislature of Wisconsin informs me that the Democractic members of the Senate and of the House composing that body have had an understanding, for some time, that previous to the opening of their sessions they will meet in caucus, and pass resolutions of approbation of the course of Walker, Stanton, Douglas and the Press. I give you his words as he gave them to me. Furthermore, he states that there is not a single dissentient.

The Hon. John Hickman, of the Chester District, was one of the first from Pennsylvania, in the last House of Representatives, to raise his voice in favour of the nomination and election of Mr. Buchanan. You know how he worked during the last campaign for the success of our cause. Now he prepares himself for continued advocacy of the great principle that the will of the majority, as fairly expressed, shall prevail, and will speak in the House on the first opportunity, in opposition to the Lecompton Constitution.

From The Baltimore Sun.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17, 1857.

The escape of Walker, and his landing at San Juan, are not to be attributed to the indifference of the Executive to the subject, but to the negligence or connivance of the officers of Customs, District-Attorneys and Marshals. Mr. McKeon, who was lately removed from the District-Attorneyship of New York, was the only Government officer who even undertook to carry out his instructions and enforce the neutrality laws against fillibusters. He has stated that he failed because he was not supported by the Federal officers at New Orleans, San Francisco, &c. The President, it appears, is determined to dismiss all officers who neglect their instructions on this subject. A few examples of the sort would be more efficient than half a dozen Executive proclamations and messages and circulars from the State Department, and official declarations to foreign powers.

From The Boston Traveller.

WASHINGTON, Friday, Dec. 11, 1857.

Every man one meets now salutes with "What do you think of Douglas?" Everybody seems to be in a state of doubt about him, except in regard to the one point, that he never made a better speech than on Wednesday last. But on the two political sides there is a singular unanimity of opinion—or at least of the expression of that opinion—that the present movement of Douglas is with a view of securing his reelection to the Senate. The South, however, with one voice denounce him, and vow his political death. They class him among their most bitter opposers. Sumner, Seward, Hale and Wilson, and even Chase and Giddings, were never denounced more bitterly by the South than is Douglas at this time. And yet he stands precisely where he and his denouncers stood six months ago, when they were lond in his favour. He has now hesitated, faltered for one instant, and from that instant his doom was sealed.

The Republicans are content to look on and enjoy this battle royal among their opponents, saying nothing, except to deny that Douglas can be classed among them. But when they are sneeringly told that in him they have a new leader, they generally answer in the spirit which prompted Mr. Banks to reply to the taunt, "Sir, I am ready to follow *any* man who can and will lead—in the right direction." But before Douglas can be classed among Republicans, he must renounce squatter sovereignty, which is his present stronghold.

All join, however, in counting the chances of Douglas's reelection. It is evident that the President regards him as a rival for the succession, and is, and has been, determined to kill him off politically. To this end, Ex-Gov. Matteson, of Illinois, was selected as the Administration candidate to oppose Douglas. The Governor is exceedingly wealthy, being at the head of several railroads, and being largely interested in several banks; and it has been thought that his wealth, together with the Federal influence which would be exerted in his favour and against Douglas, would give him the seat. But this new movement disconcerts the plans of the Administration. Yet whether it will strengthen the hands of Douglas or the Republican candidate remains to be seen. Some say that the Judge will fall between the two parties. But he asserts now a positive certainty of being elected as a pure Democrat, upon the principles of the Nebraska bill. As Father Richie would say, *nous verrons*.

Among those who are intimate with the Judge, it is said that he is more violent against the Republicans than ever; that he declares it his determination to remain in the Democratic party, and to bring it back to its true principles, as avowed in the Nebraska bill, and indorsed at the Cincinnati Convention. By some, his condition is compared with that of Governor Seward, who refused to leave the Whig and join the Free Soil party, saying it was his duty to stand by his party and to bring it back to its first principles.

From The Evening Post.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15.

A few years since the Congregationalists of New York and New England attempted to found a church of their order in Washington. Nearly enough money was raised to build a church, and a well-known gentleman in your city advanced the balance wanting, upon mortgage, and the structure was completed. Quite a noise was made, and the Rev. Mr. Beecher came down and preached a dedicatory sermon—and a masterly one it was. But the enterprise soon failed for want of support, and for years the church has been closed. Yesterday it was opened, and for the winter, if not longer, services will be held in it. A Rev. Mr. Barrett, from the West, unaided and alone, took up a heavy mortgage upon the church, and will preach during the present session without salary. His object is to establish an anti-slavery church here, not indeed to thrust the subject continually upon his hearers, but to speak of it as he would any national sin. In other words, he aims at an independent pulpit. He is a man of decided talents, and I noticed among his audience several members of Congress. After Mr. Beecher had preached in the same house, certain citizens of Washington privately circulated a subscription paper with the idea of prevailing upon him to stay here and supply the pulpit of that church, if a sufficient salary could be raised. A handsome sum was subscribed, and among the subscriptions was one from a slaveholder, agreeing to give annually fifty dollars, if Mr. Beecher would take up his residence among us. Of course this was out of the question.

It is proposed to invite Messrs. Beecher, Cheever, Storrs, and others, to each fill the pulpit of the church on Sunday, during the winter, for the sake of attracting an audience.

From The Herald.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21, 1857.

An important movement is on foot which promises an easy settlement of the Kansas agitation. It is intended, when the Lecompton Constitution comes on, to take it up by the friends of the Administration, both as a party measure and as a formal assertion of the Democratic principle of popular sovereignty. The Constitution will be passed with a proviso that it shall be presented to the people of Kansas for final acceptance and ratification. It will not be thrown out or discussed, for the proviso of final submission to the people will silence the opposition. While it carries the great point aimed at by the Administration, it localises the Kansas imbroglio, and allows the Kansas people to treat the question as they may see fit. There will be no excuse thereafter for the further interference of Congress, and no agitators, in or out of Kansas, can rehash it into an important national issue. To guard against such a possibility and to avoid every excuse for a disruption of the Democratic party, an enabling act will be incorporated in the new bill as an alternative, in case the Lecompton Convention is rejected by the people of Kansas. This will provide a safe, direct and unimpeachable mode of framing such a Constitution as the people of Kansas desire, under the formal sanction of Congress, and surrounded with all possible constitutional and popular requirements. The movement is a Southern one.

It is rumoured that the Tennessee delegation in Congress have unanimously resolved to reject the Lecompton Constitution.

It is known here that some of the members of the Cabinet do not agree with the President in his determination to stop Gen. Walker in his course, and that one of them has written a letter to a friend in the South, in which he intimates that he may be under the necessity of coming out with a letter defining his position on this question, or perhaps even of resigning his seat in the Cabinet.

The friends of Walker have carefully canvassed the subject here, and say that two members of the Cabinet and twenty-two of the Southern Senators are opposed to any interference against him. There will be some more developments in this matter before long that will be very rich, and probably startle some of the old fogies who are afraid of a fuss.

From The South.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13.

It is now a well, established fact that the able Message of President Buchanan has strengthened the Admistration, beyond the possibility of a defeat in the policy it is now engaged in carrying out, in relation to the affairs of Kansas Territory. The Northern faction that opposed the Administration on one part of the Kansas question, has met with signal failure. It had been anticipated that Senator Douglas's defection would have spread consternation and dismay, and broken up the Democratic harmony in Congress. These anticipations have been in no measure fulfilled. The rebellious Senator has utterly failed to draw off the Democratic members from the support of the Administration, and finds himself now in the position of a miscalculating and ruined politician. It is the subject of much remark that his effort to distract the party in Congress should have so completely fallen to the ground, and been passed over with such light regard; and the circumstance may be accepted as a striking evidence of the great, increasing, moral strength of the Administration.

SLAVE CASE IN PHILADELPHIA.

From The Philadelphia Bulletin, Dec. 18.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT—Judge Kane—*Fugitive Slave Case.*—This morning a hearing was had in the case of a fugitive slave, named Jacob Dupen, aged 30 years, the property of Wm. M. Edelin, of Baltimore County, Md. Dupen was arrested yesterday, by Deputy Marshals Jenkins and Stewart, about four miles from Harrisburg. He was in a field ploughing at the time, and made no resistance whatever. The only witnesses examined before Judge Kane were Thomas John Chew, of Calvert County, Md., and officer Stewart.

Mr. Chew testified as follows: I know the boy Jacob; have known him 14 years; he was the slave of Mr. Edelin, or known to be such; I knew him 14 years in that county; I was not present when he was arrested; when I saw him I asked him if he knew me and he shook his head yes.

Judge—Did he call you by name?

Witness—He did not.

Officer Stewart sworn—I was present when the arrest took place; his master was not there, and I asked him if he knew him; he said he did; afterwards said no; afterwards he said that he would have gone back home but was afraid.

Judge Kane (to fugitive)—Jacob, do you hear what is said?

Jacob—Yes.

Judge—Do you want to ask him any questions?

Jacob—I don't know what to ask him.

Judge—Well, does he tell the truth?

Jacob—I don't know what he said.

District Attorney—Was Mr. Edelin your master?

Jacob—Yes, sir.

District Attorney—Do you want to go home with him?

Jacob—I want to go somewhere.

District Attorney—Who brought you from home?

No answer.

District Attorney—Don't you want to answer?

No answer.

Judge—You are not obliged to answer. Where did you live in Maryland?

No answer.

Judge—Was it in Calvert County?

Jacob—Yes, sir.

The necessary papers were now made out, and the fugitive was handed over to the custody of his master. Jacob is about thirty years old, and has a wife and four children in Baltimore County, from which he fled about eighteen months ago. Previously he had lived in Calvert County. There was no excitement about the Court room; indeed there was no one present except the officers of the Court and the parties.

After the case had been disposed of, Wm. M. Bull, Esq., came into Court and stated that he had been employed by the friends of Jacob to defend him.

Judge Kane remarked that the case had been heard and that he had remanded the fugitive to the custody of his master.

The counsel asked if it was not unusual for cases to be heard at so early an hour in the morning?

Judge Kane—There is no rule of Court which fixes a time for the hearing of cases, and they are generally heard to suit the convenience of the Court and the parties. In the fugitive slaves cases there is often an attempt made to interfere with the execution of the law, and for that reason they should be peremptorily heard.

Mr. Bull—That is the case, your Honour, in many others besides fugitive slave cases. I did not know that in any case the defendant had not a right to be represented by counsel.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1857.

KANSAS AND THE CONSTITUTION.

WE live under a creditable government, it must be owned. We have a man of respectable private life at the head of it, with a clean shaved face, an unexceptionable white cravat and black coat—one that might be readily mistaken for a Doctor in Divinity off duty—and what is the work he is set to do? To steer the ship of State in one direction while he pretends to be looking the opposite way, in the hope of making the onlookers believe that that is the course he means to go! His fair pretence being to allow Kansas to have slavery or not as she pleases; then, by way of exemplifying his purpose, he sends in all the troops that can be spared from hunting negroes in Florida, to force her to have it whether she will or not. Republican institutions are to be secured to the infant State, but the Corner Stone must be first well laid, even if cemented with the blood of negroes. It was truly somewhat a difficult thing to perform the service which was the consideration of his Presidency, and yet maintain the outside show of fairness and justice which was a necessary element of the part he had to play. Slavery was to be forced upon Kansas against the will of an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants, and yet they and the country were to be told that it was strictly according to the theory and practice of the Republic. And so it is, according to the theory which is now openly avowed, and which has controlled the whole process of our history ever since we had one.

The theory of our Government, as virtually laid down by leading statesmen, and recognised by Congress, and adjudged solemnly by the Supreme Court is, that Slavery is the paramount interest in the country, that it is entitled to control all others, to conduct the Government on the principles most favourable to itself, and to plant it wherever it can find a standing place and extend it to the uttermost ends of the continent. But, there being some apparent discrepancy between these commentaries and the letter of the text in which the rule of our civil action is engrossed, the business of a public man, and, above all, of a President, is so to conduct himself and the affairs committed to him as so to make matters fulfil the spirit without absolutely making dead the letter of the Constitution and laws. Thus it is rather in contravention of our laws and treaties to permit American citizens to fit out armed expeditions against neighbouring countries with which we are at peace; yet, when those countries are of a soil and climate suitable for slavery, the thing must be permitted, while the show of wishing to hinder it is kept up. The piratical Walker is arrested, to be sure, but allowed to go on straw bail of $1,000 and sail for Nicaragua without molestation, and to land under the guns of a National vessel, whose captain he bullies and sets at defiance. But then the District Attorney at New Orleans is to be dismissed for not hindering his going, while the Attorney for this district is decapitated because he did put a stop to his operations here. We know this is not the reason openly given for this last removal; but we take the liberty of believing that this was a main count in the indictment for going contrary to the policy of the President, under which he was tried, condemned and executed.

So as to Kansas, Slavery was to be forced upon the people of that Territory, whether they would or not. The skill and state-craft to be shown was in doing it under the show of law. The inhabitants of Platte County and the rest of the Border having volunteered to perform this duty, the basis of operations was established. A Constitution and laws, such as no slave State had ever ventured upon, having been formed and enacted by men living in another place, and all opposition was put down at the time by murder, arson and robbery. The pretext of law was all that was needed. This part of the scheme having been successfully executed, the rest was comparatively easy. Law and Order are indeed magic words in this country, for, as usually interpreted, they came, like all magic, from the fiends. Nothing so divine as true Law and Order; nothing so devilish as the forgeries and lies which are here clothed with the power due to them. Law and Order it is that has made the free States the hunting-ground of the slaveholders, and has sent back from Bunker's Hill the echoes of martial music and measured tread, engaged in reducing a man who had achieved his liberty into a slave again. Law and Order were invoked to compel Kansas to submit to the decrees of her brutal and barbarian neighbours, which fixed upon her a Constitution and laws which were more than even the well-practiced equanimity of the veteran Cass could stand, at first. These words, and Popular Sovereignty, a formula well understood as meaning the Sovereignty of the Slave Power, were used as spells of power to cheat the eyes of the people of the free States, while the pleasure of the slave States was doing. By virtue of these words, too, the troops of the nation were poured into the Territory to dragoon the inhabitants into unwilling obedience to the behests of the Supreme Power.

It is a singular proof of the outrageous nature of the doings there in behalf of slavery, that no Governor has yet been found with a constitution strong enough to stand up under them. The President, having the pick of all the Democrats in the country—men, one would think, who had been through a political training that might harden them to any political exposures to which they could be subjected—it might have been supposed, could have found one capable of doing anything that he was bid. But the enormities of the tyranny fastened upon Kansas were more than the nerves of Reeder, or Geary, or Walker, or Stanton, could stand, and one after the other they have had to resign or get out of the way, because they were not strong enough for the place. Even Senator Douglas has found the native hue of his resolution sicklied o'er by the pale cast of the thoughts suggested thence. To be sure, he has had the wholesome discipline of disappointment to make his eye clearer and his understanding as well. Had he been rewarded with the Presidency, for which the Kansas-Nebraska bill was his bid, it is by no means impossible that he would have looked on matters with different eyes. The White House and the City of Chicago are very different points of view from which to look at the same things. But now he has the chance to profess that Popular Sovereignty really meant the sovereign right of the people to form their own institutions, instead of the right of submitting to such as the slaveholders chose to impose upon them. We cannot read men's hearts, and we cannot affirm that Mr. Douglas did not really entertain this idea, at the time; but, if so, he was the only man of average intelligence in the United States that did.

It is curious to see how "the whirligig of Time brings about his revenges." This Kansas villany, which was meant to advance its first promoter to the head of the Nation, has redounded upon his own head, and has actually compelled him to the fearful profession of honest intentions, at the risk of being read out of the party. Every governor and secretary that has gone into the Territory did so, beyond all peradventure, with the firm purpose of doing the slaveholders' work, and yet, because it was such as not even their ready hands could do without flinching, they have all been brought to their political graves. And it is far from unlikely that the Democratic party, which sets its fate upon this cast, may be sent out of the national gaming-house bankrupt and beggared. Whether anything better will arise to take its place, we cannot say. God can make the wrath of man—and his guilt—to praise him, and we wish that it may be so in this case. But we see no great prospect of it. Considering the very homœopathic infusion of principle contained in the *recipe* of the last consultation of political doctors at Philadelphia, we can hardly imagine that there can be less and any virtue abide in it. And yet less even than that must there be before the Douglas Secession can be mustered into the Northern army. The truth is, the vice that infects all our policy and all our history lies behind all parties and underneath all platforms. It was communicated to them all in the milk of the Mother Constitution, from which they all brag of springing. The taint poured into the veins of the parent at the very moment of birth must poison all the offspring, of whatever name. The country needs to be born again, and to wash away its inherent depravity and original sin in the waters of some new baptism. This nation must be renewed in the spirit of its mind before it can emerge from its present degradation and rise to the level of the lowest political morality of any Christian nation—or of any Heathen one, indeed. It can have no regeneration excepting through repentance and reformation.

PERSONAL LIBERTY AND SLAVERY.

From an unpublished work on "Liberty."

BY J. J. AMPERE.

FREE will is what constitutes personality. Personal liberty derives essentially from our nature. To refuse it to a human being is to claim the right of annihilating the essence of humanity, and of killing in man what constitutes his very manhood itself. But all personal liberty cannot be annihilated in man. To declare that a free being is *not* free is as absurd as to declare that a stone *is* free. Hence the Stoics maintained that man may be free even in chains, since he can always will freely, and it is even impossible for him to will in any other way.

But, though it is impossible to strike down free will in man, the outward manifestation of it may be prevented; therefore, to treat a free being as if he were not so is not an absurdity, but a crime. In virtue of my personality, my soul and body belong to me; it is my right to dispose of them at my will; but slavery robs me of body and soul.

The origin of slavery is force. Now force is not a right; there is no right in slavery.

Purchase creates no right; for no one can sell what never belonged to him. Property, as has been well said, is founded on the act of taking possession, by a free person, of a thing which is not free. Now, man is a free being; in his case there can, then, be no taking possession. The slave belongs neither to the master who sells him nor to the master who buys him. It is impossible, therefore, to cite the right of property in favour of slavery, since this right is the condemnation of the master, who deprives the slave of the most incontestible of all property—the ownership of himself.

This result flows from the essential nature of things; from the impossibility under which man lies of changing it; of causing a thing to be other than it is.

There exists no law of power to violate this law.

This principle established, let us see what slavery has been, and (I blush to say) what it still is in the world.

Slavery, in itself, is always monstrous, yet a word still stronger is needed. We call monstrous that, in being, which differs from the regular form; but slavery is contrary to the very essence of human nature itself. The thing is so horrible that the word requisite to express it does not exist.

That slavery, monstrous in itself, has been at divers epochs and among different nations more or less cruel, changes nothing of its nature. As much may be said of every scourge of humanity. Slavery may be mild; there are maladies so designated. The plague and the cholera have not always and everywhere the same intensity.

In the East, slavery has generally been less severe than elsewhere. In Mussulman countries the slave, as every one knows, makes a part of the family; and he may chance to marry his master's daughter, and rise to the highest offices. Despotism is the rule, almost without exception, in Eastern climes, and there is no very great difference between the condition of the master and that of the slave; whence it follows that the fate of the latter is more tolerable, the master not being able to despise a condition so near his own; and it is, above all things, contempt which hardens the heart. The distinction between the slave and the master is nowhere more marked than in free countries, because nowhere is the distance between them so great.

The gentleness of the Athenian character tempered among that people the severity of slavery. But in Rome the contrast of the two conditions shows itself in all its vigour; and in the Republic still more than under the Empire. The first in Rome who undertook the protection of slaves was an Emperor—the Emperor Claudius.

In the United States, contempt for the slave is pushed to the last extremity; and so is the pride of the freeman.

This proves nothing against Liberty. I have before shown how natural it is that it should be thus; and despotism, which brings so nearly to the same level the citizen and the slave, cannot be called a benefit. But it shows to free nations the profound importance of rejecting slavery, so much worse in their bosoms than elsewhere, through the revolting contradiction between the freedom of some and the servitude of others.

In the United States, and in every country that enslaves negroes, the prejudice against colour makes slavery still more cruel; for the masters succeed at length in persuading themselves that they are not of the same species as their slaves. This is why even the free negroes, the free mulattoes, and the free quadroons as white as Europeans, in whom a practised eye can hardly discover in the nails and the corner of the eye a trace of their origin, are called *people of colour*, and undergo the disgrace attached to that name.

This is a gross absurdity. Those who think the negro of another species than ourselves are ignorant of the elements of natural history. It is the fecundity of their unions that proves identity of species in individuals. Now, the whites know perfectly well what conclusions to draw on this subject. The mulattoes are there to enlighten them.

Moreover, the negroes share the moral and intellectual faculties which are the attributes and the characteristics of the human species. They possess free will—the essential proof of humanity.

Even should certain faculties be less developed in the darker race, and should it be admitted (which I readily grant) that this race is, in some respects, inferior to the white race, and if, contrary to the opinion of most physiologists, and to those religious traditions for which the United States affect so great a respect, it should be affirmed that all men are not of the same stock, what then? Superiority of intellect confers no right over the liberty of others. If it did, men of sense would have a right to the service of fools—a claim that men of sense have never, I believe, set up, precisely because they *are* men of sense.

To place slavery on the basis of a natural difference of this kind is an indefensible error.

What I never could comprehend was that it should have been announced by Aristotle, who says positively that there are natures fit for slaves. This proposition is far more difficult to conceive as coming from the prince of philosophers than from the New Orleans planter; for the latter might argue from the different features and skin; while, in antiquity, the slaves in general in no wise differed from other men: any man might be enslaved as a prisoner of war or by national captivity. If the city of Stagyra had been taken by assault, or if pirates had captured one of her vessels having on board Aristotle, Aristotle would have been a slave. What change would his nature have undergone by that? One is confounded at so deplorable an aberration in such a genius—inexplicable except by more deplorable necessity of elevating

robs us of all honour and all manhood. The slave system did not only hold in chains the blacks at the South, but it enthrals the free white men of the North. The bond which holds us as their vassals must be broken. He saw no hope of deliverance except in the dissolution of the Union. Some oppose a severance of the Union on the ground that by a continuance in this unrighteous connection we might reform the South and teach them good manners. As well might a lost soul, on its way to the bottomless pit, resist the importunity to come back by replying, "No, I'll keep on and see if I can't reform the devil."

Rev. Henry Grew made some remarks, and was followed by Robert Purvis (coloured), who had been loudly called for. Mr. Purvis said he always spoke with great reluctance, from the fact that he found it impossible, constituted as he was, to speak on this subject with the moderation which colder-blooded people thought was required. Let others speak calmly on this topic, said Mr. P., I cannot. When I think of the sublime impudence of this country, setting itself up, *par excellence*, a free country, the "land of the free and the home of the brave," the "freest country in all the world"—the country which holds 4,000,000 of human beings in chains as chattels personal—this country which buys and sells and mortgages men and women as articles of property—which sells children at auction for so much a pound—this country a free country! this country which grinds me and mine in the dust—which kills and robs those with whom I am indentified all the day long—am I to speak of this country, of this contemptible despotism, with minced and measured phrase? Mr. Chairman, it is impossible. My nature forbids it; my self-respect forbids it. Sir, I regard this American Republic, this so-called Democratic Government, as the basest and meanest despotism that ever disgraced the earth. I don't marvel at white men eulogising the Constitution and Union of this American Government. They don't feel the iron heel; but, sir, when I see men of my own complexion, when I see black men exalting the Constitution and the Union, under which they are adjudged, by the Supreme Court, to have "no rights which white men are bound to respect," I confess I turn away with nausea and disgust.

Mr. De Wolf, a spiritualist, followed in opposition to Mr. Purvis, deprecating the use of hard language. A Mr. Campbell, a coloured preacher, spoke in somewhat the same strain, and pronounced a eulogy upon "Fred Douglass." Mr. Purvis rejoined with much vehemence in a speech which seemed to carry the audience with him. Mrs. Mott vindicated the use of "hard language," if that language were just and true. We were bound to speak the truth, in language which forcibly expressed the truth, whether the language was hard or soft. A thief was a thief, and a "man-stealer," which was a scriptural phrase, was a man-stealer. We had no right to depart from the use of correct language to suit the tastes of any class.

Mrs. Lucretia Mott spoke at some length, after which the meeting adjourned.

From Our Own Correspondent.

The Convention resumed its discussions on Friday afternoon at 3 o'clock, Chandler Darlington, of Chester County, in the chair.

E. M. Davis, of Philadelphia, moved that the speakers be restricted to fifteen minutes each; which motion was adopted.

Mr. De Wolf then took the floor in opposition to the views of the Abolitionists. He quoted largely from Shakspeare, giving at one stretch a whole speech of Brutus, from the play of Julius Cæsar. Some of the by-standers explained this by stating that the gentleman was preparing for the stage, and had come there to practice. Mr. De Wolf was in favour of emancipation by compensation. Some of his remarks upon amalgamation were considered indecorous, and Mrs. Mott, with a blushing and indignant face, called him to order. The chair stated that Mr. De Wolf had exceeded his 15 minutes, and the speaker sat down.

E. M. Davis replied in an argument to show that if compensation should be awarded to either party, it should be to the slave rather than to the slaveholder. He quoted from the author of the "Impending Crisis," Mr. Helper, a Southern man, to show that no compensation was due either on the score of right or expediency to the slaveholder.

Mr. Bear, better known as the Buckeye Blacksmith, made a spirited speech in support of the views advanced by Mr. Davis. Mr. Bear said he was a Virginian by birth; that he had migrated to the west at the age of 14, and had returned to Virginia as soon as he had been able to earn money enough, and taken from thence his aged father and mother. Mr. Bear said he had been, until lately, very much "tangled up in politics," but that two years ago his party had died, and by so doing had left him independent. He had gone with the Republicans in the last canvass; but from this time forward, said he, I support no man who is not in favour of the absolute and entire abolition of slavery in the South. This theory of being opposed to the *extension of slavery*, said Mr. B., is a mere political trick and catch-word. I go for the abolition of slavery in the South, where it is now established.

Mr. Bear sat down amid applause.

Mr. Campbell (coloured preacher) renewed his charges against the Abolitionists of having deserted their early principles, alleging that they had been unfaithful to their pledge to labour for the elevation of the free people of colour. Mr. Campbell also objected to the Abolitionists for eschewing political action. He lauded the Constitution as an anti-slavery document.

Mr. Robert Douglass (coloured) made a short speech in reply to something said or done, a year before, by Mr. Gay, editor of The Anti-Slavery Standard; but his remarks seemed to be of too purely a personal character to interest or to be intelligible to the audience.

Mr. McKim said the proceedings of this meeting afforded a refutation of Mr. Campbell's charge that the Abolitionists had not laboured to disenthral the people of colour from the chains of prejudice. Who were most prominent among the speakers on this floor? Mr. Campbell, Mr. Purvis, Mr. Remond, and others; all coloured men, and all enjoying the right to speak, and the courtesy of an attentive audience, the same as speakers of the more favoured colour. Why was this? It was because we *had* been faithful to our pledge to treat people according to their merits and rights, and not according to their complexions. Mr. Campbell had compared us, disparagingly, with those who relied upon political action; but where was the political meeting in which he (Mr. C.) would be allowed to speak—not against its object and principles as he does here—but in favour of its object? Mr. Campbell had lauded the American Constitution. Mr. McKim was not surprised at eulogies of this kind coming from white people; but when he heard a coloured man of apparent intelligence laud the instrument of his own enslavement, an instrument under which, according to its *appointed exponent*, the Supreme Court, all men of African descent were declared to be debarred from citizenship, and under which it was distinctly implied "that black men had no rights which white men are bound to respect," he confessed he could not see how they could reconcile it with their self-respect.

Miss Remond (coloured) followed in a similar strain. She had not intended to speak, but she could not be silent when she heard the best friends of the coloured man traduced by one of their own class. Miss Remond showed that not only in Philadelphia, as had been stated, had the Abolitionists stood up perseveringly and with a fair share of success for the rights of the coloured people, but that in Massachusetts they had fully succeeded in abolishing all invidious and onerous distinctions between people of white and those of coloured complexions.

Mr. Purvis followed in remarks of a similar strain. He bore down hard on Mr. De Wolf, Mr. Campbell and Mr. Douglass for their effrontery, as he deemed it, in coming there and abusing the courtesy that was extended to them, and using the platform to which they had been politely invited for the purpose of parading their own private grievances, and defaming the character of those by whose courtesy they were allowed to speak.

Mr. De Wolf replied in defence of himself. Mr. Purvis rejoined, and some personalities were indulged in, not in exact keeping with the dignity of the subject, but which the audience seemed to consider were among the things which "are to be pardoned on the spirit of Liberty."

Mr. Campbell rose to speak, but, the hour of adjournment having arrived, the audience left him on the floor, without ceremony. The meeting adjourned, *sine die*.

Fugitive Slave Impostors.—In the London *Morning Post* of the 9th inst. we find a report of the trial, in the Southwark Police Court, of two coloured girls, calling themselves Rose and Minnie Avery, who were charged with fraud in claiming to be fugitive slaves from the United States. It was clearly shown that they were impostors, and that they had collected considerable sums of money. The magistrates dismissed them with a reprimand, and a warning not to be caught playing the game again.

Our Philadelphia Correspondent.

Philadelphia, Dec. 21st, 1857.

You know under what gloomy auspices preparations were commenced this last autumn for our Annual Fair. It was a season of unexampled distress. The panic had entered every house, and our anti-slavery people, especially those connected with the mercantile classes, had troubles enough of their own to occupy their hearts and hands. Nevertheless, our accustomed workers began their task as usual, and while their hearts were full of agony, either of sorrow or of apprehension for their husbands, or sons, or brothers, in business, they plied their needles from force of principle and pursued the even tenor of their way, not doubting that the end would fully reward their fidelity to duty. For some had doubted at first the expediency of holding a Fair at such a time, and a few had even predicted a failure. Indeed the most sanguine did not count on our doing more than half as much as usual, and all looked forward to the result with apprehension. "Where are we to get articles that will be saleable and inviting?" it was asked. "We have no contributions from abroad to rely upon, as our Boston friends have; and here at home our friends have too many pressing cares of their own to occupy them to admit of their devoting the usual time and thought to the wants of the slave. And then, if we should have ever so good a supply of articles, who will there be to buy them? Some of our best friends are broken, others are much embarrassed, and all are feeling poor." "No matter for all that," others replied, "the result will be better than you fear. It has always proved so. Many a time, in the history of our enterprise, have we entered upon a measure the event of which was equally unpromising; but where the way of duty was clear, as it is in this case, the issue has always fully justified its wisdom; and such, we doubt not, will prove the fact now." And such now has proved the fact. For when the time came to open the Fair, the supply of articles was found to be abundant, but little less so than on ordinary occasions, and the purchasers, though not in a condition to be as liberal as usual, were fully as numerous. We have never held a Bazaar that was, on the whole, more satisfactory. The handsome saloon in which it was got up was moderately filled every day, and in the evenings crowded. The best feeling prevailed; it was a pleasant reunion—a delightful festivity. The proceeds amounted, I believe, to about $1,600, being about $500 short of the usual average. This, all things considered, is regarded as a decided success.

The Convention, which was held simultaneously, and in the same building, was equally satisfactory. The room was well filled with intelligent and interested auditors, and the speaking was earnest and animated. I have sent you a condensed report of its proceedings. The speakers, you will see, were Purvis, Davis, Remond, Miss Remond, Mr. Furness, Mrs. Mott, McKim, and others, whose names are not known to you. One of the latter was a man who came to spout Shakspeare, and, under the pretence of discussing the slave question, to practise for the stage. Such, at least, is the explanation, given by some who know him, of the part he took. Another was a coloured Methodist preacher, who was there to praise the ballot and the Constitution, and impeach those who got up the meeting for not labouring faithfully to break down the prejudice of colour. A third was a man whom one of you, Messrs. Editors, had offended, a year ago, by calling him a *Bumbastes Furioso*, and who had apparently come there to vent the grudge which he had been nursing for the last twelve months. These three persons had the freedom of the floor by the courtesy of the meeting. They made the amplest use, especially the two former, of the privilege afforded them, and, like ill-bred guests who are set down to viands of which they are rarely permitted to partake, they helped themselves as though they did not expect soon to meet such a chance again. I rejoice in our free platform, and regard it as one of the glories of our cause that we afford a hearing to all who have anything to say on the subject, friends or enemies; but I confess to some feeling of impatience, when I see people, and especially coloured people, who are not usually impolite, so far forgetful of good manners as to meet courtesy with intrusion and to treat thanklessly as a right what they ought to acknowledge as a privilege. I should have been pleased if the Chairman of the meeting, after the man who came, as it was said, to spout Shakspeare and practice for the stage, had had his say, had limited him to his "fifteen minutes," and then let him wait till others who came there to promote the object of the meeting had had a full opportunity of being heard. As for the Methodist preacher, it was evidently such a rare opportunity to him to address such an audience, and on such a theme (his own long and consistent services in the cause!) that I hadn't it in my heart to grudge him the pleasure it seemed to give him. I was willing that he should call us to account for our short-comings, real or pretended, in all matters, not excepting that of our duty to the free coloured man; but when he praised political anti-slavery as the fullness of abolition perfection, and scouted us in invidious comparison, and when he claimed the floor and the time of the meeting more than once to repeat his charges, I confess his effrontery disgusted me, and I was not sorry to hear him reminded that at no other meeting of white people, except one composed of such as he was upbraiding, could a man of his complexion be allowed to speak as he was permitted to speak; and that at no political meeting in the city or in the State, no matter what might be its claims to the character of anti-slavery, would he be permitted even to peep or mutter. It is melancholy to hear a black man praise the ballot which he is declared (*by ballot*) not fit to touch, and the Union from citizenship in which he is debarred by the Court of last appeal, and the Constitution under which he is adjudged to have no rights worthy of the white man's respect. I don't wonder that Purvis blushes for such specimens of the class with which he is identified, and sometimes oversteps the bounds of moderation in rebuking them. It is rather more than Mr. Purvis, with his hot blood and impetuous nature, can bear, to hear of people submitting, without resistance, to wrong even as wrong; but when men demand of him that, like the spaniel, he shall lick the hand and crouch at the feet of him that strikes him; that he shall do homage to the power that crushes him and actually praise as worthy of all commendation the instrument of his degradation, I don't wonder that his gorge rises; that he turns away from the soulless sycophants that stoop to such servility with disgust, and vents himself in phrases which his cooler moments admonish him are beneath his dignity.

The pleasure of the last day of our festival was marred by an incident (such things are *incidents*, not events, in this great pro-slavery city), which it is some consolation to think are of rare occurrence lately. I allude to the sentence of a man to eternal slavery by Judge Kane, last Friday morning. All I know of this case, and all the public has been permitted to know of it, is to be found in the brief report I sent you cut from the *Evening Bulletin*. The man claimed as a slave was arrested, on Thursday, near Harrisburg, by Deputy Marshals Jenkins and Stewart, and by them brought to this city. The next morning a secret hearing—as it is regarded—was had before Judge Kane, and before any one not in the interest of the slaveholder, or at least not indifferent to the result, was aware of what was going on, the poor fellow was delivered up to his claimant and the case settled. The whole process, so far as I have been able to learn, did not occupy much more than half-an-hour. It would appear from *The Bulletin's* report that an attempt had been made by some one to procure counsel for the slave; but the person sent for, Wm. Bull, Esq., though he repaired to the spot without delay, found himself too late. The reason alleged by the Judge for this indecent haste to perform an indecent act was that in such cases "attempts had been made to interfere with the execution of the law." The only ground for this allegation was that efforts had been made in all previous cases to secure for the prisoner all the advantage—which was slight enough, Heaven knows—that the law would allow. Judge Kane did not consider it expedient to make this concession in the present instance. It is an easy matter to come to a decided, if not an honest, conclusion where only one party is heard. Besides, it is an unpleasant business to play the part of Slave-Commissioner and Judicial Jackall for the man-hunter, in the face of a Court-room filled with intelligent and virtuous observers. At any rate, Judge Kane seemed to think that he and Vandyke, and the claimant and Stewart, and a few others, perhaps, of the same ilk, were sufficient to give to the matter the authority of form, and that this was all that was required. So these four—slave-Judge, slaveholder, slaveholder's Attorney and slave-captor—put their heads together and the case was settled. Mr. Bull remarked, with innocent surprise, to the Judge, "I did not know that in any case a prisoner could be debarred from the privilege of counsel." Mr. Bull was perhaps thinking of the Judge in New Orleans, who, a few days ago, in the case of a man arraigned for murder, and who unexpectedly acknowledged his guilt, refused to accept the confession, gave the prisoner leave to take it back, and insisted on assigning him counsel. But Mr. Bull had not learned—he has now probably—that a white man, even though a murderer, has rights which may not be disregarded, but that a black man, even though innocent, has "no rights which a white man is bound to respect." Commissioner Ingraham, base as he was, never went so far as Judge Kane has gone in this instance. He went through the form of listening to witnesses and counsel, even though he made no account of what was said by either, as in the case of Adam Gibson, whom he sent, on the testimony of abettors and others, to a man who never owned him and who had the honesty to return him as a free man; but Judge Kane, in this case, hears no testimony and listens to no counsel, except on the side of the slaveholder. Could anything be more monstrous? What could even Judge Kane do that would be more atrocious.

M.

From our Dublin Correspondent.

Dublin, Dec. 3, 1857.

I find that some of my friends (and whenever this happens, I laugh at them, openly or in my sleeve) are apt to think that everybody else is as much moved by the last new book as themselves. They think that surely the whole world will now come round to this opinion so ably recommended, or to that argument so irresistibly enforced; or that surely those reforms which, until now, have kept hobbling along painfully and heavily, like the locomotive engines before George Stephenson put his hand to them, will henceforth rush forward with the awful power and rapidity of the express train from London to Exeter. How few read, how few care, how infinitely small is the proportion of those who trouble their heads about such matters! This reflection, fortunately, takes up little of the time and thoughts of the true writers. If it were otherwise, they could never write truly. If our little garments of self-importance did not wrap us up comfortably, and keep out the keen and perishing consciousness of our individual insignificance and inability, I don't know what would become of the greatest and the ablest of men and women. I was led into these sagacious remarks by a book that lately fell in my way. I don't know what kind soul sent it to me. If you happen to meet him, I pray you to thank him on my behalf. I allude to Mr. S. A. Weston's "Progress of Slavery in the United States," which I read with deep interest, and consider well worthy of special comment in your columns and in those of all the anti-slavery papers. Accustomed, as I have been, to associate anti-slavery action with the Abolitionists alone, it is cause of hearty congratulation to see such books issuing from the press as those of Messrs. Helper and Weston, who, as far as I can judge, have no connection with 138 Nassau street, New York; 21 Cornhill, Boston, nor yet "with any of the shops over the way." The wider the basis of anti-slavery action, the better. If a man like Mr. Weston is ready to regard the efforts of the moral suasion Abolitionists as mere moonshine, and can make it clear to us that while they can never effect the object they aim at, it is nevertheless likely to come round by some combination of events which the slaveholders can neither impede nor withstand, let him talk, and let us listen to his anticipations with a hearty wish that he may prove a true prophet. Provided slavery is likely to come to a speedy end in any peaceable way, no true Abolitionist will trouble his head if the time and manner should not happen to square with his anticipations. I "calculate" that Mr. Weston is a Marylander, he celebrates the beauty, resources and enterprise of that State with such a hearty gusto. It was from some of his communications to the *National Era* I first learned the fact that, besides 350,000 slaveholders, of all sorts and sizes, and 3,500,000 slaves, in the Southern States, there are also a trifle of six millions of whites, who are neither the one nor the other. This is one of those simple facts which don't come clearly before the mind's-eye till they are thrust before it, and then we wonder we were never conscious of them before. Don't you think this gentleman's assertions that anti-slavery men and Anti-Slavery Societies were as plenty as blackberries before 1831—or to that effect—would be a good basis for a very pretty quarrel with him? Is it true or is it not? or are you both right? and how does the matter really stand? The thing is not of much consequence in itself. But then is he in the right, or is he ignorant, or insolent, or which? And is it not your duty to set yourselves right with the world, or as much or as many of the world as care on this question? I shall look for your "Reply to Weston" with anxiety.

However this may be, I heartily hope the people may grow tired of moving away any farther across the prairies and deserts of Central North America, out of all sound of the sea or reach of the post-office. I hope they may soon begin to turn southwards, and, with their activity, industry, wealth, enterprise and energy, sweep the slaveholders into the Gulf of Mexico. If Weston's book makes its way and finds readers enough, I should think his keen eye to material prosperity, his fealty to the Union, and his indifference to the blacks would recommend his book to a large class of the great American People.

Here nobobdy cares for any subject but India. The general opinion seems to be that it is our duty to give the 150 millions of our fellow-subjects in those parts a strong dose of vengeance first and an equally strong dose of Christianity afterwards. It is a strange thing when we consider that the two most "decidedly Evangelical" nations anywhere to be found are yours and ours. You are mad for slavery—we for vengeance—and both are or think they are equally bent on the promulgation of true religion throughout the world. It takes—I am deeply sensible of my weakness—a powerful moral digestive apparatus to swallow these things.

Yours ever truly, Richard D. Webb.

PERSONAL.

Senator Seward lately spent a few days as the guest of Hon. John S. Pendleton at Culpepper Court-House, Virginia.

Ex-President Pierce having been named for United States Senator for New Hampshire, the Concord *Patriot* announces that he would not accept the office even if he could receive the vote of every member of the Legislature.

John Calhoun, President of the late bogus Constitutional Convention in Kansas, is a brother of William B. Calhoun of Springfield, Mass., of Charles Calhoun, late Clerk of the Massachusetts Senate, and of Rev. S. H. Calhoun, a Missionary of the American Board in Syria.

Mrs. Fuller, widow of the late James Cannings Fuller, of Skaneateles, died a few days since, aged 74 years. She was, like her husband, a member of the Society of Friends and an earnest Abolitionist. She was one of the few whose anti-slavery is too vital and genuine to be destroyed by transplantation from British to American soil.

The correspondent of the Newark (N. J.) *Advertiser* at Florence writes, under date of Nov. 17: "We have here a mulatto sculptor, Eugene Warbourg, from New Orleans, who brings commendations from Mr. Soulé, Mrs. Stowe and the Duchess of Sutherland, and who gives some promise of respectable attainments in the profession."

The Boston *Transcript* speaks of "two discourses of a high character" lately delivered in the Hollis street church in that city, by the Rev. A. D. Mayo of Albany. "This clergyman," says the *Transcript*, "has within a few years taken quite a prominent rank among the representative men of the liberal wing of the Unitarian body."

The Rev. Samuel J. May writes to us from the Glen Haven Water Cure, under date of Dec. 20, as follows: "I have been here five weeks, and think I have been benefited by the rest I have enjoyed, the simple diet upon which I have lived, and the water treatment to which I have submitted; to say nothing of the hilarious company by which I have been here surrounded." It will not be long, we trust, before we shall be permitted to announce Mr. May's complete restoration to health and his return to his important labours.

George W. Curtis delivered in Boston, lately, his lecture entitled "Sir Philip Sydney, or the Gentleman." The *Transcript* says:

"The subject was one peculiarly fitted to the lecturer's habits of thought, and afforded occasion for the display of much refined philosophy. The opportunity was used to the greatest advantage. It takes a real gentleman—not one in name alone—to adequately define the heart promptings and mental impulses which operate to keep a person in the path of rectitude, philanthropy, and patriotism; qualities that, blending in any individual, entitle him fairly to the cognomen of a gentleman. We know of no public speaker, outside of the clerical profession, who could, with as little presumption as Mr. Curtis, claim authority for his opinions upon this theme."

The Columbus, Ohio, correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette* says: "Gov. Chase has been laid up for the past week with rheumatism, but is expected to have a firm footing in a few days. He is eminently a man of routine; perhaps no Governor ever devoted himself so constantly and systematically to the business of his office. Rumours connect the recent purchase of a tasteful and commodious residence by him with intentions to place in it, as his wife, an accomplished young widow of Cincinnati, daughter of a wealthy and influential citizen of Columbus. The Governor's sister, from Toledo, will preside over his new home for the present.

CONGRESS.

SENATE.

Wednesday, Dec. 16.

Mr. Allen (of Rhode Island) submitted a resolution for the appointment of the Standing Committees, according to a list agreed upon by a caucus of the dominant party.

Mr. Hamlin, of Maine, protested against the list as unjust, disproportionate, and sectional. He said:

"What are the facts? We have sixty-two members of the Senate—thirty-two are from the Non-Slaveholding States, thirty are from the Slaveholding States. The whole number of places upon committees is one hundred and twenty-six. Numerically, upon an equal representation, there should be assigned to Senators from the Slave States sixty-one places, and to Senators from the Free States sixty-five. The cast, although it has been slightly modified this morning, I think is not substantially changed. As it was made and presented to the minority, I suppose the changes will not exceed one. By that cast there were assigned to the Slave States sixty-seven, and to the Free States fifty-nine, showing a disproportion of ten. The whole number of committees of the Senate is twenty-two. Of these committees, there are from the Slave States to be found majorities on thirteen, and majorities of but nine from the Free States; and of these nine, where majorities are composed of Senators from the Free States, three are wholly unimportant—the Committees on Enrolled Bills, Engrossed Bills, and to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate—leaving, therefore, in fact, the proportion of thirteen to six.

"Tracing the matter along still further, I find that the party with whom I act upon this floor consists of twenty, being within a fraction of one-third of the Senate. They are entitled, upon terms of equality, to thirty-nine places upon the committees; they have thirty-three assigned to them. Seven of those thirty-three are on the unimportant committees to which I have alluded, leaving them actually but twenty-six on committees of any considerable importance. I find that on sixteen committees of the Senate the chairmen are selected from the Slave States, and on six from the Free States I find, to guard the succession (for I can come to no other conclusion), precisely an equal number of men from the Slave States stand second upon the committees, to insure the successions, when, by declination, resignation, or the expiration of their term, they shall withdraw from the Senate.

"But numerically, although important, it is a matter of much less importance than the particular manner in which the individual committees are cast. With only two exceptions (and compared with the others, they are somewhat unimportant), the great, the principal committees, that reflect the Government, that establish its policy abroad and at home, are all cast with majorities of Southern men. It is a significant fact; it is a fact pregnant with mischief; it is a fact of which the country will not fail to take notice. I say, sir, that the executive and judicial departments of the Government are now at the foot of the Slave Power.

"Here we have the Committee on Foreign Relations, that shapes and directs the foreign policy of the Government; we have the Committee on Military Affairs, that looks to its Army; we have the Committee on Naval Affairs, that has charge of its Navy; we have a Committee on the Judiciary, which gives constructions to laws, and shapes the policy (so far as the Legislature may) of the Government; we find them all constituted of a majority of men who represent the Slaveholding States. I make no objection personally. I want these facts to go to the country, that they may know the mode and manner in which the legislative business is prepared and shaped, and how it is that it is perverted to the behests and to subserve the purpose of the Slave interest in this country. Who cannot see the object to be accomplished plainly foreshadowed? The majority of the Senate, it is frankly conceded, are entitled to a control in the organization of the committees. But it is this sectional manner of which we have a right to complain, and to which we enter a protest; and from such an organization we have a right to infer the object to be effected.

"Another fact: I find that the Committee on Commerce, with a majority of Southern men, is entirely without a representative in all the far North-West, including the great lakes and rivers. With four of its members from the South, there is not one man to represent the internal commerce of the lakes, that is counted by its hundred millions. More, sir: I would like very well indeed to know why the usual rule was departed from in this case, and why the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Stuart], who so ably and faithfully represented the commercial interests of the North-West, was made to give place, if it be not for the purpose of shaping the legislation of the country to prostrate the commerce of that section of the Union? I think we have a right—all Senators have a right to their opinions—to come to the conclusion that the committee was formed and instituted for that purpose, from the known public opinions that a majority of the committee, I think, have uniformly expressed against internal improvements of all kinds. But a single position on that committee has been assigned to this side of the Chamber, and none for the large section embraced in the north-western lakes and the commerce of the lakes and rivers.

"Again, sir, I look at the Committee on Patents and the Patent Office, and I find a majority of that committee constituted of Southern Senators. They are worthy men—I make no complaint of the Senators who occupy the positions on these committees; but it is to their sectional cast that I object, and the purposes which we have a right to believe are designed to flow from that organization. That committee is composed of three gentlemen from the Southern States and two from the North, giving to that section the control of all its action.

"While I know that, if there is an honest man in this body who will devote his energies honestly to its purpose, I say cheerfully it is the worthy Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Evans); still, when we look at the fact, that of the inventive genius and enterprise of the country, more than four-fifths, if not nine-tenths, come from another section of the Union, I ask if it were not right that they might reasonably have expected men who feel a local and personal as well as national interest in that department of our Government in what relates to arts and inventive genius?

"Again, sir, I look to the Committee on the Library, and I find there no representative whatever from the North. Is it because the North are not qualified for the position? Is it because they have not as deep, as broad an interest in whatever may relate to the affairs of our library, to the literature and learning of our country, as Southern Senators? Why is it, unless it be for the purpose of taking care of your library, so that it be not tainted with those doctrines of the fathers who formed the Constitution of our country?

"I say that the whole form and shape of these committees mark and stamp them with a sectionalism which I had hoped never to have witnessed in this body. They come to me in that way and in such circumstances that cannot command my approbation or my vote. But I do not propose to take up the time of the Senate in discussing them in detail. I have only risen for the purpose of stating these objections to the committees, and presenting these facts as the reason why I shall withhold my vote from the resolution, and shall vote against it on the question of its adoption."

Mr. Doolittle of Wisconsin, Mr. Chandler of Michigan and Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts, supported Mr. Hamlin, and Mr. Pugh of Ohio, a Democratic Senator, confessed that the Committees were not fairly formed. The latter voted for them notwithstanding, with every other member of his party! For our own part we think the North gets in this matter just what she deserves for consenting to remain in union with slaveholders. She will find, ere long, that the only remedy lies in a dissolution of the Union.

Mr. Green, of Missouri, made his promised reply to Mr. Douglas on the Kansas question, treating him with marked courtesy. Mr. Douglas replied, denouncing the Lecompton scheme as a "scheme of civil war," and saying that if he were to vote in favour of it "he should feel obliged in consequence to increase the army and support it at the point of the bayonet." "The adoption of the measure would not only rend asunder the Democratic party, but endanger the peace and prosperity of the Union. He did not believe that the President would ask Senators to run their necks into the halter of disunion or civil war."

Friday, Dec. 18.—Mr. Douglas introduced a bill to authorize the people of Kansas to form a Constitution. It provides for a Board of five persons, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, to make an enumeration of the inhabitants of Kansas, and a fair apportionment of members to the Convention; also, provides for an election to be held on a day designated by the Board, not less than ninety nor more than one hundred and twenty days from the passage of this act; also provides that the Board shall be intrusted with the appointment of Judges and places of voting, which is to be confined to every free white male citizen of the United States who may be a bona fida inhabitant of the Territory on the 21st of December, and who shall have resided three months prior to the said election in the county in which he offers to vote; also provides that the Convention shall assemble at not less than 30 nor more than 60 days after the election of the Delegates; also provides that the Constitution shall be submitted to the legal voters for their free acceptance or rejection; and unless adopted by a majority of the legal votes cast, shall be null and void. The bill secures the personal and political rights of the people, including those of speech and the press.

Saturday, Dec. 19.—The Treasury Note bill was passed, after a warm debate.

Dec. 21.—Mr. Bigler, of Pa., attempted to reply to Mr. Douglas on the Kansas question. The correspondent of the *Evening Post*, says:

"It was written out in full, and delivered in such a drone that many of the Senators left the Chamber to listen to the spirited debate going on in the House. The 'discourse' smelt strongly of the lamp, but more of its smoke than the blaze."

The correspondent of *The Times* says:

"Mr. Douglas carries too many guns altogether for Mr. Bigler, who again essayed to-day to answer the able speech of the Senator from Illinois in vindication of the right of self-government in the people of Kansas. The speech which Mr. B. gave us was carefully studied and written. Indeed it is said—and there need be little doubt of the fact—that it had been critically examined and indorsed by the President himself. As an elaboration of the views of the Executive it commanded attention; but as an argument to sustain and defend the policy of forcing Kansas into the Union with a Constitution which the mass of her people repudiate, and against which they are certain to raise the banner of revolution if need be, it was an utter failure. Indeed it was less forcible and statesmanlike than the speech made by the Senator from Missouri, on the same side of the question, last week.

"In the running debate between Douglas and Bigler which followed, the latter was quite demolished. His friends saw that the Senator from Illinois was plunging him deeper and deeper in the mire at every step, and finally a Southern Senator, in very pity, went around to Mr. Bigler and drew him off by suggesting that he had better cry quits."

Dec. 22.—Mr. Fitch, of Indiana, spoke in reply to Mr. Douglas, and in defence of the Administration on the Kansas question. Elected to the Senate himself by a most atrocious fraud, nothing is more natural than that he should stand forth the champion of Border Ruffian frauds in Kansas. The correspondent of *The Tribune* says:

The debate in the Senate (above sketched) is considered the greatest that has taken place for many years. Mr. Fitch attacked Mr. Douglas with much bitterness, describing Mr. Buchanan as an old man who had no aspirations but for the good of his country, and who would leave the Presidency with more pleasure than he assumed it, contrasting him with Mr. Douglas, a young, aspiring man, full of ambitious schemes. Mr. Fitch warned Mr. Douglas, to beware of the fate of Aaron Burr and Martin Van Buren, both of whom had tried to destroy the Democracy, but had only ruined themselves. His speech was plausible and animated, and gave great satisfaction to the Southern Senators.

Douglas replied in his best style, and made a magnificent speech, defending himself successfully on every point, and predicting that in sixty days his assailants would be driven from their position. He declared again that if a Constitution was forced upon the people of Kansas against their will, civil war was inevitable."

HOUSE.

Dec. 16.—Assembled in the new hall. A communication was received from the Protestant clergymen of various denominations in the District of Columbia, tendering their services gratuitously in opening the sessions with prayer.

Mr. Cox, of Ohio (Columbus District), a Democratic member, made a strong speech on the Kansas question, taking ground with Douglas. Mr. Hughes, of Indiana, replied in defence of the President.

Dec. 18.—Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts, introduced a bill to enable the people of Kansas to form a State Convention. It authorises the legal voters, on the first Monday in March to elect Delegates—two for each Representative in the Territorial Legislature—who shall assemble at the Capitol on the first Monday in ——, and determine by vote whether the people of Kansas wish her to be admitted into the Union at that time, and, if so, shall form a Constitution, and take all necessary steps for the establishment of a State Government, subject to the approval and ratification of the people of Kansas. The other sections relate to the census upon which to base the election of Representatives, to land for schools, universities, public buildings, salt springs, etc. The boundaries proposed are substantially the same as those made by Mr. Toombs's bill.

Dec. 22.—The Treasury Note bill was passed, as it came from the Senate; yeas 118, nays 86.

Both Houses adjourned, on Wednesday, till the 4th of January.

Littell's Living Age, No. 709, opens with an exceedingly interesting paper, from *Oxford Essays*, upon "The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages," and contains beside a variety of matter in prose and verse. This number closes the LVth volume of a periodical which is acknowledged by good judges to be one of the best in the United States, and which we can conscientiously and heartily commend to all who seek an acquaintance with current English literature. Weekly, $6 per annum. Littell, Son & Co., Boston.

APPEAL OF THE WOMAN'S PROTECTIVE EMIGRATION SOCIETY.

To the Friends of the Helpless: A cry, even at this moment, goes up to Heavan from the agonized hearts of hundreds of young, and, hitherto, pure women; who, until recently, honest and honoured labourers in workshops and stores, have suddenly been cast upon the world—homeless, friendless, penniless—and who now, in the madness of desolation and want, are trembling on the verge of the dark stream of vice which pollutes our streets.

Fathers! mothers! think of this—look upon your children—and place them but for an instant, if you can endure the picture, in the position of these suffering ones; with the terrible alternatives of starvation or dishonour! Think of the pure lips that have opened but to the language of modesty and to the laugh of innocent joy, becoming the hot portals of blasphemy and obscenity, and of the will merriment of reckless inebriety! Think of the bright hopes clustering around the future, as stricken down and withered; of the lives of honour and usefulness as cast away. Follow the lost ones in thought, through the agony of the last death of hope and the triumph of despair, and through the loathsome history which succeeds; and trace them thus, step by step in their downward progress, to the last scene of all, when the defaced image of desecrated womanhood lies lifeless on its wretched pallet—at once a reproach and a warning; and say, as Christian men and women—shall these things be so, while you, stewards of God's bounty in the various measure of your power, have the means to mitigate, if not to arrest, the march of ruin?

This is no exaggerated language—no inconsiderate appeal. According to the Rev. Mr. Pease, than whom no better authority could be cited, the number of women who have been driven from honest industry, since the present financial troubles commenced, to swell the ranks of the outcasts of the street, is at least FIFTEEN HUNDRED! How far this appalling statement is likely soon to be surpassed in fact, may be inferred from what follows: Very recently nearly one thousand applicants gave in their names, within a few days, to some benevolent ladies who had desired to test the extent of destitution amongst skilled and unskilled workwomen, with a view to devise and apply the necessary relief. Some few of these applicants possessed one or two dollars each, but the majority were wholly destitute, and some had not tasted food for twenty-four hours. And these, be it well noted, were of the industrious and respectable working young women of New York; shrinking from the dole of charity, and asking only leave to live by their labour. A sight full of pity to see; of horror to reflect upon, when all the possibilities of their future rise up before the mind.

But there is a way to help these people—a way at once humane, economical and effectual—a way to benefit them, and others also by their means. It is this:

The labour of these young women, which finds no market here, is much needed in the thriving West; and it requires but the methodical application of sufficient means to promote their emigration to places where homes and employment surely await them, to achieve their safety. The machinery, indeed, of existing Societies is altogether inadequate to a task which urgently demands exclusive attention, and a prompt and liberal, though careful expenditure. But to meet this difficulty, a Society has been formed under the name of The Woman's Protective Emigration Society, which awaits only the donations of the humane to commence the great and responsible work to which its founders have devoted themselves.

From the subjoined printed copy of the Society's constitution and proposed plan of action, it will be seen that it is contemplated at once to secure a house or houses, to afford temporary shelter to as many as possible of the young women who may apply to be sent into the interior, and valuable aid and counsel to others; while, in the meantime, some of the ladies on the Board of Direction will proceed to various parts of the West, to prepare for the proper reception and settlement of the young emigrants. It will be seen also that due checks and guards have been provided in the constitution of the Society for the correct administration of its funds.

It is on behalf of this Society that the undersigned appeal to the public for the liberal assistance so urgently needed; not in reliance on the force of the words they speak, though these come from the heart. The terror, the shame, the magnitude of the suffering they plead for, cannot find expression in language. But the philanthropist will feel it: the Christian, looking forward to the coming Christmas, the birthday of one who came "to seek and to save that which was lost," will surely feel that the cheering thought of having generously aided to rescue hundreds of his poor sisters from shame and ruin, will shine brighter on his mind on the day of rejoicing than will the fire on his hearth.

Friends of all creeds, but sharers in a common hope! children of one Father! come to our aid.

On behalf of the Woman's Protective Emigration Society,

Elizabeth B. Phelps, President.
Eliza W. Farnham, Secretary.

Subscriptions will be gratefully received by
Dr. L. T. Warner, 49 Lafayette Place,
Geo. H. Jones, 134 William street,
Thos. Tredwell, 141 Pearl street,
R. W. Heartley, 2 Bowling Green.

Summary.

In a country graveyard in New Jersey there is a plain stone erected over the grave of a young lady, with only this inscription upon it: "Julia Adams, died of thin shoes, April 17, 1839, aged 19."

Up to Snuff.—It is estimated that there are four millions of female snuff takers in the United States, using on an average two pounds each per annum, or eight millions of pounds, at an expense of two millions of dollars!

The Hon. William Bebb, ex-Governor of Ohio, now a citizen of Winnebago County, in Illinois, has been indicted by the Grand Jury of that County for manslaughter,

Miscellaneous Department.

THE LITTLE ABOLITIONIST.

By the Author of "The Autobiography of a Female Slave."

[*Written for the National Anti-Slavery Standard.*]

CHAPTER VII.

Two or three days after, the ladies received cards for Miss Granton's "Fancy party." There was quite an excitement in the house about the distribution of characters and costumes.

Emma Granton was a fashionable girl, of large fortune, residing in the city of L——, about thirty miles, by rail, from our little village. She was an old friend and classmate of Sally Morton's. At the boarding-school, they had been remarkable for their devotion to each other; sat at the same desk and studied from the same book; walked together through the woods in recreation hours, and each was the confidant of the other. But they were different in this essential trait of character: Emma was an aristocrat of the most approved order. She had a sort of clever pity for the poor; but believed that they should stand aloof—be marked, if not proscribed—a band of pensioners upon the wealth of the favoured few. The dignity of humanity, the advancement of the race was to her ridiculous as a farce. Of course, she and Sally had many long controversies, that ended in a laugh on Emma's part, and a tear on Sally's. Since leaving school, though residing in different towns, they often met, and their friendship seemed to grow stronger. Emma was always propitiating Sally by some contribution to charitable societies; but the latter was always lamenting the want of earnestness in her friend's disposition; she endeavoured, by every possible argument and the citation of facts, to awaken a true and noble philanthropy in her friend. She loved Emma too dearly to see how much she was absorbed in the dazzling interests of the world. Life loomed up before the gay belle merely as a glittering pageant—a festival day into which she wished to crowd as much selfish enjoyment as possible. And in her worldly-wise way she termed Sally a *wild enthusiast*, over whose faults she cast the protecting mantle of friendly charity.

Mrs. Granton was a lady of the highest fashion, who scorned anything common or vulgar. To be elegant was her religion, the creed of which held no loftier article than "*Be ye fashionable.*" The orbit of her soul was no larger than a half-dollar, and its diurnal revolutions were marked by the twelve signs of pride—first in the scale—prejudice, scorn, vanity, and the accompanying virtues. She rejoiced in the finest establishment, the most splendid equipage, and the greatest retinue of servants in the whole city of L——. In this hollow and false atmosphere Emily lived, and shone the very star of fashion.

The "Fancy party" was quite an event in the polite circles. Everybody was anxious to outvie everybody else in the richness or striking choice of costume; but it was expected that Miss Emily Granton would outshine all others, as no one dared to rival her in splendour. It was a harvest season to dressmakers and merchants.

Sally Morton felt no interest in parties, and so wanted to refuse this invitation, but her aunt and cousin so urged her to go that she relented. Then came the canvassing for characters.

Miss Manners wanted to appear as Zulieka, but her mother—a lady of taste in such affairs—thought the character too oriental for Miss Clara's style.

"Well, mamma, why may I not go as Juliet?" asked the young lady.

"Oh, never, never, my daughter—that is a horrid idea; besides, you are too stately, elegant and cold to personate that passionate girl."

"Then, Zenobia, Cleopatra, or Mary Stuart; come, mother, choose for me."

"Why not go as the sportive Iris? You can wear that beautiful amber skirt, with a jupe of blue and pink, the diamond star upon your brow and a silver wand in your hand."

"Well, that character *will* suit; so the matter is settled."

"How are we to dispose of you, Sally?" asked Mrs. Manners.

"Oh, let her go as *Ethiopia;*" and Miss Clara laughed at her own wit.

"I think it would be an appropriate character to set in your midst—to stand with a rebuking look and warning finger when your revelry runs so high," replied Sally.

"Now, don't preach, Sally; we have had enough of that," said her aunt.

"As you are small and fairy-like in proportions, suppose you go as the Queen of the Willies?"

"Arrange it as you please, aunt; it is a matter of no possible consequence to me."

"Sally, I do wish you would take more interest in society. You make such a stick of yourself that I am ashamed to take you out with me. Do remember that you are a lady. I dislike to see such a bad feeling growing up between you and Clara; and yet I am bound to decide against you. Clara has very proper feelings for you; 'tis only that you mortify her by your vulgar notions. Do try to be more like other people."

"I am just as nature made me, and I can't be any other, aunt. I am sure that I would like to please you, *if I could.*"

"There, now, that is a good girl;" and Mrs. Manners kissed her orphan niece with some show of affection.

For several days after this the ladies were occupied with shopping and dressmakers. The sitting-room was strewn with spangles, tinsels, fringes, odd ends of ribbons, feathers, and all the little, pretty, cunning devices of party-toilette.

"Aunt," asked Sally one day, "can't I take mammy with me to Mrs. Granton's? I think a trip of that sort will do her good. She has been sick and drooping for some time."

"Of course you can, dear, if you prefer her to Joe as a dressing-maid."

"I don't care for a dressing-maid particularly; but mammy takes such pride and pleasure in seeing me dress that I think it would gratify her to go, and change of work will not be unpleasant. By the way, aunt, I think she works too hard at any rate. She looks worn and weak."

Oh, no, indeed, Betty is not over but under worked. She has too much idle time. Your uncle thinks of hiring her out next year."

"Hiring mammy out?"

"Why, yes, child. She does nothing now but wash and iron."

"But what a quantity of washing she does for us all in the course of a week. I never go to see her that I don't find her tugging hard over the washing tub or the ironing table."

"Oh, pshaw! child; negroes have a way of covering up their idleness by seeming to be busy. Your uncle thinks that it is legally wrong to allow Betty to live in such a free and independent sort of manner. Her cabin is the common rendezvous of all the negroes in the town and county, and objections will be urged against such an infringement of the laws."

"She lives quietly, and I don't see why she must alter her manner of living. She shan't be hired out, of that I am determined."

"You will have to obey your guardian."

Sally cast a defiant look toward her aunt, who observed—

"All this is of no consequence *now*—Betty can go with you to Mrs. Granton's if you wish."

Aunt Betty was delighted to go as femme-de-chambre to her young mistress, whom she loved as her own child, and in whose beauty she rejoiced with pride. It really seemed to excite her from her usually stupid and melancholy manner.

"Oh, beauty," she would say to Sally, "how the gem men will look at you. None of 'em is gwine to compare long wid you. They all be a wantin' to dance wid yer, but don't you let any of 'em poor clerks, 'em shop boys come near you, cause you see common folks must not go wid quality."

Sally laughed and did not try to preach up a better doctrine, for past experience taught her that mammy's aristocracy was too deep, even for controversy.

Owing to the sudden and severe illness of Clara's special dressing-maid, Joe was taken as a substitute, much to the delight of that worthy. She flitted about in every direction, more like a kitten than a human creature, making great boasts in the kitchen of the splendid manner in which she expected to acquit herself, and expressing great fears of the recovery of the servant in whose stead she was going.

"I believes Joe's gone mad," said Aunt Betty to Sally. "She haint done nothin' but cut monkey capers since she heard she was gwine to wait on Miss Clara. Last night she plaited up that ugly wool of hers and has been beggin' John and Jim and all de hands for money to buy a new pair of ear-rings 'case she lost one of hers."

"Poor thing, she takes such pleasure in dress, I must give her a pair of my ear-rings—an old pair that I never use. It *will* spoil all her fun not to have them. Tell her to come to me, good mammy."

Pretty soon after, Joe came in, looking as bright as a well-rubbed copper kettle.

"Did you want *me*, Miss Sally?" and she dropped a round little curtsy in front of Sally.

"Yes, Joe. I wanted to see you a moment or so. You are going with Clara to Mrs. Granton's to-morrow night."

"Laws, yes, mam," and her face fairly shone with delight. "I'se so glad that Suse is sick, so I can go, for I does love to see 'em dance, and I loves to dress pretty ladies like Miss Clara. But I'd rather dress you, Miss Sally. It is sich a pleasure to do anything for you."

"Now, Joe, you know you had rather go with Clara, for she wears all the fine jewelry and the prettiest dresses."

"Yes, I'd rather fix her clothes, but look at your face, Miss Sally, 'cause its jist as bright as Sunday sunshine."

"Is Sunday sunshine any brighter than Monday's?"

"Laws, yes, kase everybody gits up Monday sour, kase they's got to work. I think the sun allers hides 'hind a cloud till twelve o'clock Monday morning; then he sorter gits use to its bein' Monday an' tries to shine out a little."

Sally laughed at this as she said,

"Well, Joe, I suppose you will appear in your best bib and tucker."

"Laws, no, Miss Sally. I done lost my ear-rings and I ain't fit to go—but I strung some black beads in big rings and mean to tie them in my ears. I ain't gwine to go 'out 'em, to be sure."

"Well, Joe, here are a pair of gold hoops I used to wear, which I'll give you rather than have you appear so out of dress on such an important occasion."

"Laws, now, Miss Sally, don't rob yourself, but 'em is splendid, fine, big ones. Now you *is* a rale lady."

And she bent down to kiss Sally's foot, which was, however, dexterously prevented by our democratic heroine.

The next day, with a great number of trunks, boxes, &c, the ladies, accompanied by Mr. Manners and the three servants, set out for L——, where they duly arrived and were welcomed by the Grantons.

When evening came, the parlours, four in number, opening into a magnificent conservatory which swept off into an aviary vocal with the rarest melody, were brilliantly lighted. Very splendid and luxurious were those apartments. Soft Persian carpets covered the floors, whilst luxuriant curtains of embroidered satin swept from the windows in graceful folds. French mirrors gave back in soft reflection the forms and faces of beauties that blushed at sight of their own loveliness.

It was gay and brilliant; there were assembled dukes, lords, ladies, kings and queens—representatives of every age and clime. Miss Granton appeared as Nourmerhal, the Light of the Harem, and looked very lovely in a Turkish dress of pink silk, embroidered with gold and the corsage studded with diamonds. Upon her head she wore a small Turkish cap ornamented with golden tassels and diamond buttons. It was a style of dress that well became her flashing beauty. At twelve o'clock she changed the dress for a robe of silver Lama and a spangled veil, in which she appeared as Nourmerhal at the feast of roses after her interview with the enchantress.

Miss Manners wore her rain-bow dress; a diamond star upon her brow and neck, and arms covered with jewels. Her haughty head scarcely moved, or her face flushed to the murmurs of admiration that everywhere greeted her as she entered the room.

Our little Sally represented the Queen of the Willies, looking very sweet and pure in a short dress of illusion. The wings of silver lay half folded upon her shoulders, myrtle was on her brow in a fantastic crown, and bound her waist like a fillet, or floated mid the long curls of her soft hair. She bore in her hand the Fairy's Wand. To Aunt Betty's eyes she was the most beautiful one in the gay assembly, though few of the guests would have agreed to this unfair and partial verdict.

Through that gay and gorgeous throng, Sally moved with but little interest; they were to her as so many chattering jack-daws. When she danced, it was not with the stately precision of her elegant cousin, nor yet with the airy swell and buoyant grace of the accomplished Miss Granton, but rather in an indifferent, careless, wilful sort of a way that seemed to declare her ruleless nature.

"Why, Sally," said Emily Granton, in the most studied of tones, "why don't you take more interest in what is passing around you? Your eyes are as vacant as though they were gazing into darkness."

Sally started in very evident surprise, as if recalled from a reverie. The truth is her attention had been arrested by the haggard, wretched, agonized face of a mulatto man, one of the waiters, who moved about among the company, obeying orders. Sally understood the look; she knew that some great, acute trouble was at his heart.

Watching a convenient moment, she stole away from the company, followed him out upon the back balcony, and, stealing close behind him, asked, in a quick tone,

"What is the matter with you?"

The man turned hastily around, and, perceiving the expression of earnest inquiry in the face, said,

"Oh, Miss, my mother is dying; and I can't be with her."

"Where is she?"

"At the house of her master in Sycamore street. Oh, I wish I could see her. I'm 'spectin' little black Jake to bring me word how she is. There he comes."

As he spoke a little negro boy rushed up almost breathless, and exclaimed,

"She's most gone, Holton."

The man groaned fearfully,

"Oh, if I could only see her."

"Do you belong to Mrs. Granton?"

"Yes, mam."

"Well, I'll ask her to let you go. I am sure she will, when I tell her that your mother is dying."

"Oh do, please, mam. God bless you for it."

Sally moved away, and, re-entering the parlors, she searched through the range of rooms for Mrs. Granton, but that notability could nowhere be found. Sally, however, found Emily surrounded by a bevy of admirers, and, rushing up to her, caught hold of her arm in an impetuous manner, saying,

"Where is your mother?"

"I don't know, Sally; but what on earth is the cause of this desperation?"

"Oh, Emily, Holton's mother is dying, and he wants to see her. Can't he go?"

"I have nothing to do in the matter, Sally. I did not even know that Holton had a mother; pray, how came you by the knowledge?"

"Never mind, only say if he *can* go."

"I am not mistress of ceremonies."

"Then I must seek your mother."

And away Sally sped. It was half-past twelve o'clock, the fashionable hour for supper, and Mrs. Granton was found near the perlieus of the supper room.

"Dear Mrs. Granton," cried Sally, in the most perturbed manner, "Holton's mother is dying; can he be spared for a few moments to go and see her?"

Mrs. Granton looked almost contemptuously upon her as she inquired in a freezing tone,

"What did you ask, Miss Morton?"

The question was earnestly, pleadingly repeated.

Mrs. Granton eyed her suspiciously, as if she doubted the reason.

"I really don't know, Miss Morton, why you thus presume to interfere with my domestic affairs."

Not noticing the hauteur of Mrs. Granton, Sally went on to beg that Holton should be allowed to go at once, as a moment's delay might prove fatal. Perceiving that her coldness was without regard or effect, Mrs. Granton deemed it wise to change her manners.

"My dear," she said, "it is quite impossible for me to spare Holton at this time. It is near the supper hour, and there is no one to take his place. He is my chief reliance."

"Mammy can take his place—use either of our three servants—*take me* rather than detain that son a moment from his mother's side."

"No one can take Holton's place. He may go to-morrow, or when the company leave, but now it is impossible; and, my dear, you had better return to the drawing-room. As for you, Holton," she turned as he entered, "attend to your work; your *mother won't die this time.*"

The muscles round Holton's mouth worked terribly. His swart face was sallow gray; he spoke no word but went desperately to work. As Mrs. Granton left the room, he said, in a choking voice,

"I thank you, Miss, but I knew it was of no use."

"Is there any one with your mother?"

"No one but a little girl."

"Where does she live? I'll go to her myself."

"What! *you*, Miss?"

"Yes, I will *go.*"

"It is late at night, Miss, and you are a lady."

"I am a woman, and *will* go."

He hesitated a moment. Gratitude had stunned his other faculties.

"Where is that little boy, Jake, whom I saw on the balcony? I'll take him to guide me. Make haste; no time is to be lost."

She ran up to her room, and, seizing a scarlet opera cloak, threw it across her shoulders, and drawing the hood over her head, ran down a private stairway, where she met Holton with little Jake.

"Here is the boy; he will show you the way, Miss, and God will take care of such an angel. Tell my mother why it is I don't come."

In a few moments more, Sally was rapidly threading the streets, guided by Jake. After a short walk, they turned into a private gate, and, passing through the yard, entered a low room, adjoining the kitchen—a poor, comfortless apartment, scarcely large enough to accommodate six persons.

There, upon a small, crazy bed-stead, lay a woman in the last agonies of death. Her sufferings seemed to be intense. She groaned aloud in fearful tones. Sally walked hastily up to the bed-side; and, taking her hard, black hand within her own, pressed it kindly, and, running her fingers along the wrist, counted the slow-measured pulse. The woman turned her face toward Sally.

"Why, who *is* this?" and her wild eyes scanned the young, fair face that was gazing down into hers.

"A friend," murmured Sally, as she offered her a draught of cold water. And taking her own handkerchief, she bathed the temples and brow.

"Whar's Holton?"

"He can't come for several hours yet."

"Wouldn't the white folks let him come to say good bye?"

"He will be here after awhile."

"I want him to come now. I has something to tell him, and I'm most gone now."

"I will say to him anything you wish me."

The dying woman raised her head from the pillow of straw, and gazed inquiringly into Sally's face.

"You is *white* and may ruin poor Holton. I can't tell you. And yet you don't look wicked. I'se a great mind to trust you."

"I'll never deceive you," replied Sally, in a fervent tone.

"If you does," and the woman's eyes glared as a demon's, "I'll make my ghost come back to haunt you. You shan't sleep o' nights, and you shan't be happy o' days, if you does bring trouble to my boy."

"I will keep your secret, so help me God."

"Well, I must tell somebody; for de white folks won't let Holton come. They's too busy with thar frolicin' an' dancing, they doesn't care for a slave that's dyin'. I'll tell you, young lady, for yer looks kind, that if it wasn't for such as you, God would open the earth and make it swallow up the white folks. They do nothin' but kill, and worse than kill, the slaves. I've had plenty o' trouble in my time, an' I'se had my little turn at revenge, an' I ain't sorry far it. I'se worked up many a death dose in 'em dainty pies and custards. I'se given *pisen.*"

Sally recoiled in horror at this boasting confession.

"Now, you need not look skeered 'bout it. White folks does worse than that. They whips to death; they burns niggers, and I give 'em an easy death in thar nice dinners." She laughed wildly, exultingly, ferociously!

"I know one gal, white as the pond lilies, and a heap prouder. Oh! her heel has been on me an' mine. She come to her death, they said, from fever. But I know she swallowed the fever from a glass that *I* handed her. Didn't I watch her as she drank it, and say to myself, let it be red-lead to you." Another demoniac laugh.

"Well, if I had lived, I'd mixed many more doses; but I can't stay here. Now, I'se got a little money. I's had to be particular with it. I hid it away as fast as I made it; and that was, God knows, by the hardest licks. It is buried in the lower part of the garden; tell Holton (he knows where it is) to dig it up—and run off—run away to Canada. Tell him not to serve another day after I'm gone. If he can run off easy, why well an' good. If they follow and overtake him, he must fight through it, or be fought down, down, down."

She rose in the bed; her whole face was a-flash with a savage, maniac glare, as she fiercely hissed out, "down to his death, but not agin into bondage, or my sperit shall trouble him!"

Sinking back, half exhausted, she lay panting like a wounded tigress.

Sally, who had been fearfully interested in her talk, now roused her; and very tenderly soothed and moistened her lips; stroked her brow and spoke in low, lulling tones.

The woman turned, looked full in Sally's face, then gave one deep, fearful groan that seemed to divide soul and body. It was as if she had parted with something that made self—that gave to consciousness all that was special and individual. Rousing up, she added quickly;

"My boy, Holton, is not black; his father was a white man—a *gentleman.* When Holton was but ten years old, he was sold from me. I wanted his father, who was my master's brother, to buy him. He wouldn't do it, and laughed at me—abused me—said he was goin' to marry a fine lady, and it wouldn't do to have his own child 'bout the house to make his fine wife jealous. But he came to my cabin that night; he got a drink that sent him off to sleep with the worms. But, bo, I am getting so sleepy. Did yer say Holton would come by an' bye? I wish he'd come now."

She lay for a few moments still, as though death had come. A strange feeling—awful as fear and vague as mystery—crept over Sally. She went to the corner of the room, where Jake and the little girl were sleeping, and called them. She wanted company; she dreaded to be alone with that still figure.

The boy got up, and looking round, asked if it was time to go home. Just then the woman started and gazed wildly round. Sally's mantle had fallen off, and she stood in that dreary room, in her fantastic dress, like a spirit from another world.

"Who's that? Whar did that angel come from?" cried out the dying woman, as she looked at Sally, who now approached her, and, trying to calm her, said,

"It is no angel; only a friend."

"Now, that *is* an angel."

Sally attempted to hold the dying woman, who began to writhe in an agony of pain; but her little arms were too weak. She was, indeed, glad when the door opened and Holton, accompanied by her mammy, came in.

"Laws! dear Miss Sally, my pretty baby, what does yer here? You'll take cold. They's missed you from the party; has been askin' far you. I was most skeered to death when Holton told me where you was. And as supper was over, he come along wid me."

Holton was holding his mother in his arms, and bending over her with a sort of broken-hearted fondness. A very touching sight when one remembered the gay scene from which he came.

"Come, Miss Sally, you *must* go back to the party."

"I have but little heart, mammy, for parties, but I will return to the house."

Without saying a word to Holton, accompanied by her mammy and Jake, she left the desolate room, and returned to the gay mansion of Mrs. Granton.

(*To be Continued.*)

TO WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Written on reading his speech delivered at Abington, Mass., on the 1st of August, 1857.

To live and strive in dark and troublous times,
When men may stake their lives, if need there be,
And mount the bloody scaffold steadily,
And be o'erwhelmed 'mid carnage and 'mid crimes,
Were light. With one great deed another rhymes
Through the vast realms of space melodiously,
And solemn o'er time's wide and shoreless sea,
One grand life with another ever chimes.
'Tis harder far to brave the daily hate
Of those whose trade it is to plat the thorn,
The paltering priests, who unrelenting wait
With this for thee, but tinsel to adorn
Our tricksters gambling at the game of State,
And find no word to say our settled scorn.

Amid this venal mob 'tis only thou,
And such as thou, that ever make us feel
We have a country. Never tempered steel
Was truer to the North. We know not how
This strife may end: that thou wilt never bow
Before the South, while others willing kneel,
But, faithful to our Northern Commonweal,
Wilt stand, we know, with still undaunted brow.
Thou hast no part nor place with that base herd
Who swift have brought upon our nation's name
A whole world's scorn, while that world's heart is stirred
With dread and wonder at the shameful fame
Of that career for which there is no word—
For which all English words are weak and tame!

Philadelphia, October, 1857. H. W. G.

THE PANIC AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

Sparing no expense in cabs, *Mr. Punch* has gathered some statistics of the consequences of the crash, and as cautions to posterity, he now proceeds to print them:

The editor of the Pro-Sepoy penny papers was in such consternation at the tightness of his money market, that he exclusively confined himself to monetary "leaders," and abstained a whole week from abusing that wretch Havelock.

McFlimsy and Company, the great North Country house, has been preparing to smash for upwards of a twelvemonth; and now, it is believed, will attribute their misfortune entirely to the panic, and no doubt will be rewarded with a first-class certificate.

The wife of a respectable and highly cautious stockbroker was so alarmed by what she heard her husband say about the "low state of the bank resources" and the "drain of gold from the establishment," that she made haste to realize the notes she had for housekeeping, and in her hurry purchased more things for her wardrobe than the larder.

Mr. Larker was so "engaged in the city" while the money pressure lasted, that he never once reached home until long past midnight, and then was so much overcome that he could not take his boots off.

A "pious" maid-of-all-work, holding a situation in a serious family, being confidentially informed by the baker's boy that his master said as hern were gitting in a mess and worn't to have no credit, acted on the hint that very afternoon, and decamped with her piety and half-a-dozen tea-spoons.

A constant rider in the Comfortable New Saloon Omnibuses was so distracted by the panic from his usual intelligence, that he jumped into one of the French Company's Menageries, and did not find out until afterwards how he had been bumped and battered.

No less than nineteen done-up gentlemen made excuses to the tailors, on the ground that money was so tight that they had really no loose cash for them.

The Chairman at a meeting of an Agricultural Society was so affected by the sight of the new sovereigns he was awarding to Prize Labourers, that he immediately wrote off a letter to the *Times* declaring that there need be no fears of distress among the working classes, for the peasantry he knew had hoards of gold which they, when out of work, could well fall back upon.

A Belgravian footman who had been "investing" some spare "puckwisits" in the Three Per Cents, was so overjoyed at the suspension of the Bank Act, and the consequent advance of Government Securities, that he actually returned a civil answer to a lady who called to apply for a governess's place.

At least ten dozen stingy husbands who had promised to escort their wives and families to Jullien's, took advantage of the Panic for the postponement of their visit.

Mr. Tippler found his nerves so shattered by the influence of the Panic, that he was forced to take more than ordinary measures of relief, and he therefore took three extra half-pints daily to fortify his confidence that things were all serene with him.

One of the most eminent of the Hebrew bill-discounters had worked himself one day to such a pitch of excitement that he swallowed three pork-sausages for supper without discovering his error.

Another bill-discounter, of strictly Christian tenets, was thrown in such a state of mind by finding that some "paper" he had been "doing" had in fact been doing him, that to compose himself for rest he was prescribed the strongest anodyne, and even Mr. Smith's Poems failed to set him nodding.

Mr. Brown's wife's mother, chancing to be staying with them, took occasion of the Panic to read a lecture on economy to Mr. B. at dinner-time in answer to his grumbling at "that blanked cold mutton!"

These are some of the effects of the late monetary crisis; and the nation may determine if they are not of a monitory nature.

THE QUAKER'S CORN CRIB.

A man had been in the habit of stealing corn from his neighbour, who was a Quaker. Every night he would go softly to the crib and fill his bag with the ears which the good old Quaker's toil had placed there. Every morning the old gentleman observed a diminution of his corn pile. This was very annoying, and must be stopped—but how? Many a one would have said, "Take a gun, conceal yourself, wait till he comes, and fire." Others would have said, "Catch the villain, and have him sent to jail."

But the Quaker was not prepared to enter into any such severe measures. He wanted to punish the offender, and at the same time bring about his reformation if possible. So he fixed a sort of trap close to the hole, through which the man would thrust his arm in getting the corn.

The wicked neighbour proceeded on his unholy errand at the hour of midnight, with the bag in hand. Unsuspectingly, he thrust his hand into the crib to seize an ear, when lo! he found himself unable to withdraw it. In vain he tugged and pulled, and sweated, and alternately cried and cursed. His hand was fast, and every effort to release it only made it the more secure. After a time the tumult in his breast measurably subsided. He gave over his useless struggles, and began to look around him. All was silence and repose. Good men were sleeping soundly in their comfortable beds, while he was compelled to keep a dreary, disgraceful watch through the remainder of that long and tedious night, his hand in constant pain from the pressure of the clamp which held it. His tired limbs, compelled to sustain his weary body, would fain have sunk beneath him, and his heavy eyes would have closed in slumber, but no! there was no rest, no sleep for him. There he must stand and watch the progress of the night, and at once desire and dread the return of morning. Morning came at last, and the Quaker looked out of his window and found he had "caught the man."

What was to be done? Some would say, "Go out and give him a good cowhiding, just as he stands, and then release him."

But not so, said the Quaker. Such a course would have sent the man away embittered and muttering curses of revenge. The good old man hurried on his clothes and started at once to the relief and punishment of his prisoner.

"Good morning, friend!" said he, as he came in speaking distance. "How does thee do?"

The poor culprit made no answer, but burst into tears.

"O, fie!" said the Quaker, as he proceeded to release him; "I'm sorry that thee has got thy hand fast. Thee put it in the wrong place, or it would not have been so."

The man looked crest-fallen, and, begging forgiveness, hastily turned to make his retreat.

"Stay," said his persecutor, for he was now becoming such to the offender, who could have received a blow with much better grace than the kind words that were falling from the Quaker's lips. "Stay, friend, thy bag is not filled. Thee needs corn, or thee would not have taken so much pains to get it. Come, let us fill it," and the poor fellow was obliged to stand and hold the bag while the old man filled it, interspersing the exercise with the pleasantest conversation imaginable; all of which were like daggers in the heart of his chagrined and mortified victim. The bag was filled, the string tied, and the sufferer hoped soon to be out of the presence of his tormentor, but again his purpose was thwarted.

"Stay," said the Quaker, as the man was about to hurry off, having uttered once his apologies and thanks. "Stay, Ruth has breakfast ere this; thee must not think of going without breakfast; come, Ruth is calling."

This was most unendurable! This was "heaping coals" with a vengeance! In vain the mortified neighbour begged to be excused. In vain he plead to be released from what would be to him a punishment ten times more severe than stripes and imprisonment. The Quaker was inexorable, and he was obliged to yield.

Breakfast over, "Now," said the old farmer, as he helped the victim shoulder the bag, "if thee needs any more corn, come in the day-time and thee shall have it."

With what shame and remorse did that guilty man turn from the dwelling of the pious Quaker! Everybody is ready to say that he never again troubled the Quaker's corn-crib. I have something still better than that to tell you. He at once relented and reformed, and my informant tells me that he afterwards heard him relate, in an experience-meeting, the substance of the story I have related, and he attributed his conversion, under God's blessing, to the course the Quaker had pursued, to arrest him in his downward course.

CHINESE APHORISMS.

"You may, perhaps," writes a correspondent of the *Athenæum*, "think the following curious aphorisms worth inserting, as throwing some light on the controverted question of Chinese civilization. They are extracted from a book called 'The Book of the Way and the Truth,' by Lao-tseu, a philosopher who lived 600 years before Christ. It is translated by M. Stanislas Julien, Professor of the Chinese language at Paris.

"APHORISMS.

"Men of superior virtue are ignorant of their virtue. Men of inferior virtue do not forget their virtue. Men of superior virtue practise it without thinking of it. Men of inferior virtue practise it with intention.

"I possess three precious things; I hold and preserve them as a treasure: the first is called affection (love of mankind); the second, economy; the third, humility. I have affection, therefore I can be courageous. I have economy, therefore I can expend largely. I dare not be the first, and therefore I may become (I am fitted to become) the chief of all men. But now, men leave affection to abandon themselves to courage; they leave economy to get themselves up to profusion; they leave the lowest place to seek the highest. These things lead to death.

"When heaven desires to save a man it gives him affection to protect him.

"Great passions necessarily expose their possessor to great sacrifices.

"He who knows how to suffice to himself is safe from dishonour. He who knows how to stop never stumbles or falls.

"There is no greater misfortune than not to be able to suffice to oneself.

"There is no greater calamity than the desire of acquiring.

"The sage relishes what is without savour. He avenges the injuries he receives by benefits. He begins by easy things when he meditates difficult things; by small things when he meditates great.

"The saint seeks not to do great things; for that reason he can accomplish great things. He who thinks many things easy is sure to encounter numerous difficulties. Hence it happens that the saint who esteems everything difficult, encounters no difficulty to the end of his life.

"A tree of large circumference sprang from a root as delicate as a hair; a tower of nine stories arose out of a handful of earth; a journey of a thousand *lis* began by a step.

"Be attentive to the end as well as to the beginning, and then you will not fail.

"To know, and to think that we know not, is the highest pitch of merit. Not to know, and to think that we know, is the common malady of men. If you are afflicted at this malady you will not be infected with it.

"The saint clothes himself in coarse raiment, and hides precious gems in his breast.

"Beware of thinking your dwelling too small for you; beware of becoming disgusted with your lot.

"The net of heaven is immense; its meshes are wide, and yet nobody escapes.

"The sage fears glory as much as ignominy. Glory is something low. When a man has it he is filled with fear; when he has lost it he is filled with fear.

"You may entrust the government of the empire to the man who fears to undertake to govern the empire.

"The most excellent arms are instruments of misfortune; they are the instruments of the sage. He uses them only when he cannot dispense with them, and places above all things calm and repose.

"If he triumphs, he does not rejoice. To rejoice at victory is to love to kill men. He who has killed a multitude of men ought to lament over them with tears and sobs.

Yours, &c., S."

A SMART SQUIRREL.

Mr. N. P. Willis tells a squirrel story in *The Home Journal.* He and two editorial guests, it seems, were enjoying an autumn ramble in the woods, when, in the midst of their walking and talking, appeared the hero of the following narrative, seating himself not far away "in his auto-easy chair of a tail":

Whether frightened at the liveliness of our friend's well-known powers of description, or at the slight French accent that still lingers in his wonderful fluency of English, the squirrel at the first rush of emphasis in the Baron's tale, started from his. Down went those enviable limbs that serve alike the purpose of legs or arms, and away he scudded up the bank. But the bank was steep, and the gesticulating arms of the tall foreigner looked formidably prehensible. There was but one alternative—the bridge across the chasm. But, alas! with his loss of "confidence" the little corn-monger's usual foresight had forsaken him. He did not look ahead far enough to see that, instead of taking the safe side of the glen, that narrow bridge ended in the very centre of a "large town in Cappadocia."* Dana was astride of the far end of that single plank, his formidable lap presenting a toll gate that there was no manner of getting round. Two-thirds across before he discovered this, the fugitive turned to go back. But, with the quickness of a practiced sportsman, De Trobriand had closed up the retreat. Stopping in his story at the sight of the squirrel's blunder, he sprang to the bridge and dropped his Parisian boots on either side of the plank; and there sat two—a parenthesis of editors inclosing a very reasonably frightened topic of discussion.

[And now comes a phenomenon of natural history, to which I beg to call the attention of Prof. Agassiz.]

After running backward and forward, in terrified perplexity, for two or three minutes, the little victim came to a stand-still, and proceeded coolly to reason upon it. He looked first at one side and then at the other. The two ends of the plank were laid on the ledges of the two opposite banks, and, by jumping across the barricade of *The Tribune* on one side, or that of *The Courier des Etats Unis* on the other, he might, at least, land on a rocky precipice—with the danger only of slipping off as he should alight, and so falling into the torrent below.

And this he decided to do; but observe the almost human reason shown in his two or three subsequent expedients!

His two cheek-pouches (he was a ground squirrel, you understand, one of the *tumuas lysteri*, with pockets in his face) were swollen to their utmost distention with his morning's pick-up of provender. With a knowing alternation of his sharp eyes from one desperate outlet to the other, he evidently made up his mind that it would be easier to overleap the Frenchman than the Yankee; but he came to the conclusion also, after carefully measuring the jump, that *he could not do it and carry weight.* He quietly disgorged, therefore, upon the centre of the plank, eight or ten kernels of corn, and thus lightened, ran to the edge. But here a new thought occurred to him.

You recollect the long hickory sapling which serves as a balustrade to that otherwise giddy bridge over the torrent. Up one of the pine cleats which support the slight railing ran the squirrel, evidently seeing that he could jump to more advantage from this higher point. But sitting here a moment to gather his courage and his forces, he bethought him that, *with the jump thus made easier, he might carry more weight; and, descending again to the bridge, he picked up one-half of his previously disgorged corn, stowed it safely in his cheek-pockets, ascended again to the top of the railing, and made the leap he had previously projected.* To my great relief he safely alighted, and, with the wreck he had saved from his threatened bankruptcy, ran up the slanting ledge of the precipice and disappeared.

Here were certainly evidences of uncommon intelligence in this little animal—his sudden command of coolness in emergency, his deliberate choice between two evils, his prudential lessening of hindrance, his reconsideration of plan after a new light upon the matter, and the final proof how wisely he had calculated the possible savings from his first over-hasty "assignment," and how well he had measured his powers for the last desperate leap. It is a story worthy of perusal in Wall street, or of copying into Thompson's Bank Note Reporter.

* Dana, a large town of Cappadocia. (Classical Dictionary.)

The Sky.—It is a strange thing how little, in general, people know about the sky. It is the part of creation in which nature has done more for the sake of pleasing man, more for the sole and evident purpose of talking to him, and teaching him, than in any other of her works; and it is just the part in which we least attend to her. The noble scenes of earth can be seen and known but by few; it is not intended that man should always live in the midst of them—he injures them by his presence—he ceases to feel them if he be always with them. The sky is for all; bright as it is, it is not "too bright nor good for human nature's daily food"; it is fitted in all its functions for perpetual comfort and exalting of the heart, soothing and purifying it from dross and dust. Sometimes gentle, sometimes capricious, sometimes awful—never the same for two moments together—almost human in its passions, almost spiritual in its tenderness, almost divine in its infinity; its appeal to what is immortal in us is as distinct as its ministry of chastisement or of blessing to what is mortal and essential. And yet we never attend to it, we never make it a subject of thought, but it has to do with our animal sensation. We look upon all by which it speaks to us, more clearly than to brutes, upon all which bears witness to the intention of the Supreme that we are to receive more from the covering vault than the light and the dew that we share with the weed and the worm, only as a succession of meaningless and monotonous accident, too common and too vain to be worthy of a moment of watchfulness or a glance of admiration.

If, in our moments of idleness and insipidity, we turn to the sky as a last resource, which of its phenomena do we speak of? One says it has been wet, and another it has been windy, and another it has been warm. Who, among the whole chattering crowd, can tell me of the forms and precipices of the chain of tall white mountains on the horizon at noon yesterday? Who saw the narrow sunbeam that came out of the south, and smote upon the summits until they melted and mouldered away in a dust of blue rain? Who saw the dance of the dead clouds when the sunlight left them last night, and the west wind blew them before it like withered leaves? All has past ungreeted or unseen; or, if the apathy be ever shaken off, even for an instant, it is only by what is extraordinary. And yet it is not in the broad and fierce demonstrations of the elemental energies, not in the clash of hail, nor the draft of whirlwind, that the highest characters of the sublime are developed. God is not always so eloquent in the earthquake, nor in the fire, as in "the still, small voice." They are but the blunt and the low faculties of our nature, which can only be addressed through lamp-black and lightning. It is in quiet and subdued passages of unobtrusive majesty, the deep, the calm, and the perpetual—that which must be sought ere it is seen, and loved ere it is understood—things which the angels work out for us daily, and yet vary eternally, which are never wanting, never repeated, which are to be found always, yet each found but once. It is through these that the lesson of devotion is chiefly taught, and the blessing of beauty is given.—*John Ruskin.*

Is Brahma a Plagiarism?—The readers of Emerson's "Brahma," and its parodies, will peruse with interest the following from the Providence *Journal:*

As the *Journal* is entitled to the honour of having published the first of many parodies of "Brahma," it begs leave to offer to the bewildered readers of that incomprehensible poem the germ from which it was probably developed. In the "Mahabharata," a Hindoo epic poem, composed about three centuries before the Christian era, occur the following lines:

"For he that thinks to slay the soul, or he that thinks the soul is slain,
Are fondly both alike deceived: it is not slain, it slayeth not:
It is not born—it doth not die: past, present, future, knows it not:
Ancient, eternal and unchanged, it dies not with the dying frame.
Who knows it incorruptible, and everlasting, and unborn,
What heeds he, whether he may slay, or fall himself in battle slain?"

This translation may be found in an article on India in the Bibliotheca Sacra for 1852.

Philadelphia Advertisements.

REMOVAL.—Fowler, Wells & Co., late of No. 231 Arch street, have removed to No. 922 Chestnut street. Works on Phrenology, Physiology, Water-Cure and Phonography, wholesale and retail. Phrenological Examinations, day and evening.

NEW BOARDING HOUSE—Respectable persons can be accommodated with genteel transient or permanent boarding by applying to the subscriber, No. 274 South street, below Ninth, Philadelphia. WM. STILL.

THEODORE PARKER'S WORKS.—Just received and for sale at Anti-Slavery Office, Philadelphia—
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